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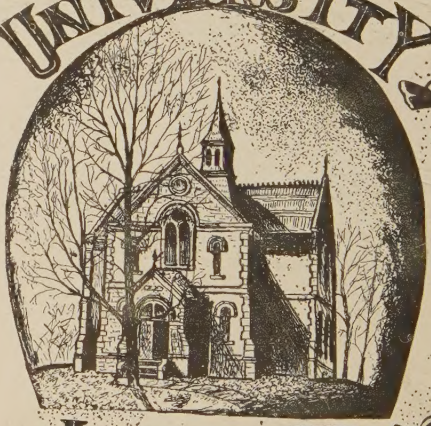

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THE VANDERBILT ORIENTAL SERIES

EDITED BY

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN AND JAMES HENRY STEVENSON

HERODOTUS

AND

THE EMPIRES OF THE EAST

BASED ON

NIKEL'S HERODOT UND DIE KEILSCHRIFTFORSCHUNG

BY

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, PH. D.

AND

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Professors in Vanderbilt University

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by
Herbert Cushing Tolman
and
James Henry Stevenson

TO

William J. Vaughn, LL. D.

ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ
τετραγώνῳ, ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένῳ

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PREFACE.

The aim of the present work is to furnish the classical student such material as will enable him to appreciate the fascinating narrative of Herodotus respecting the nations of Western Asia.

Herodotus has been criticised unjustly, we think, by some modern scholars. A well-known Assyriologist has even gone so far as to call Herodotus a mere λογόποιος, who "pilfered freely and without acknowledgment," who "assumed a knowledge he did not possess," who "professed to derive information from personal experience and eyewitnesses which really came from the very sources he seeks to disparage and supersede," and who "lays claim to extensive travels which are as mythical as those of the early philosophers." Such extreme views are as harmful as they are unfair. While we do not profess to claim for Herodotus absolute historical accuracy, yet we are convinced that recent investigations in the native literature of the Eastern nations have confirmed the trustworthiness of many statements which were formerly regard-

ed as absurd, and have established on a firmer basis the reputation of the great historian.

If this volume can add to the charm of the simple style of Herodotus an appreciation of the historical value of his statements, the purpose of the editors will be fulfilled.

HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN,
JAMES HENRY STEVENSON.

December 24, 1898.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Greek Sources of the Assyro-Babylonian History.

The history of one of the oldest civilized nations—viz., the Assyro-Babylonian—was, until quite recently, known only in meager and fragmentary accounts. The extensive native literature of this people, of which scarcely any one had a suspicion, lay buried underneath rubbish and ashes until the middle of the present century. Even the location of the sites of civilization in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys—*e. g.*, Ur, Larsam, Eridu, Erech, Ashur, Calah, Nineveh—was undetermined.

Before the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform documents, the information respecting the Assyro-Babylonian history was derived from two sources, the Old Testament and several Greek authors. Chief among the writings of the Old Testament are: the second book of Kings, the books of Chronicles, the books of the prophets Isaiah, Nahum, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Of the writings of the Greek authors, the most important is the work (Βαβυλωνιακά) of the Chaldean priest Berossus, but only a few fragments of this remain. Berossus, who wrote about the end of the third century, B. C.—*i. e.*, during the reign of Antiochus Soter—doubtless was acquainted with the native documents of the Babylonians, and consequently the extant fragments of his work are of great value. Another classical authority, which is likewise based on Babylonian documents, is the so-called Ptolemy canon;

but this, unfortunately, begins with the history of the new Babylonian empire. Moreover there is preserved, though only in fragments, the work of a certain Abydenos (B. C. 260), which contains a section (Ἀσσυριακά) on Assyria. This work exists only in the quotations of Eusebius and other Christian writers.

Of the other Greek authors there are two who are specially worthy of mention — viz., **Herodotus** and **Ctesias.** They doubtless had opportunity to draw directly from the Babylonian—*i. e.*, the Medo-Persian — sources. Ctesias, the later of the two, who lived in the first years of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon (405–358 B. C.) at the Persian court, wrote a work in opposition to Herodotus on the history of Persia (Περσικά), which he claimed was largely based on the original sources. Nevertheless his accounts are in the highest degree unreliable, and show inexcusable carelessness in the matter of names and dates. Herodotus, in his history, treats the question of the Medes and Persians quite exhaustively, but his accounts of the Assyro-Babylonian history are meager. He makes references to an intended work[1] on Assyrian history, which is now lost, if indeed it ever existed. Herodotus had visited Western Asia, especially Babylonia;[2] but since he must have been incapable of using the native documents of the Babylonians, he was compelled to rely on vouchers, who, it appears, were of Persian descent.

[1] Herod., I., 106 (ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι); I., 184 (ἐν τοῖσιν Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι).

[2] The paragraph II., 150, indicates that he was in Babylon before he visited Egypt.

The Greek Writings in the Light of Assyriology.

In recent years the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians has been made accessible through numerous explorations in the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, and Assyriology has gained a certain accuracy of interpretation. Therefore scholars are now in a position to determine the worth of classical writers respecting the history of the East. Early investigations of Assyriologists show a strong tendency to undervalue the Greek writings. Whenever the Greek narrative was not confirmed by the cuneiform inscriptions, it was either summarily discarded as mere fable, or at least treated as unreliable. Thoughtful scholars in later times have condemned this treatment. A contribution from A. v. Gutschmid, which appeared in 1876, awakened special interest.[1] To this Eberhard Schrader published a reply in 1878.[2] Since that time, notwithstanding the multiplication of cuneiform documents, Assyriology has attained a well-deserved recognition through the arduous labors of scholars.

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[1] Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients. Die Assyriologie in Deutschland.

[2] Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung.

TOPOGRAPHY.

The Fruitfulness of Babylonia.

When Herodotus visited Babylonia it was one of the richest grain-producing regions of the Persian empire. (I., 192.) Babylonia and Assyria, besides contributing one thousand talents of silver, furnished also one-third of the taxes levied by the Persian kings throughout the whole empire. (III., 92.) The soil of Babylonia brought forth all kinds of grain, especially wheat, barley, sesame, and millet, in such abundance that Herodotus speaks of two hundred and even three hundred fold increase. The millet and sesame stock grew as high as trees, while the blades of wheat and barley were oftentimes the breadth of four fingers.[1] The date palm was the only fruit tree which flourished extensively. It supplied all the needs of life, since, according to Strabo (XVI., i., § 14), it produced bread, wine, vinegar, meal, and fiber. The fruit stones furnished food for the oxen and sheep, and served also as fuel. According to Herodotus the vine, the olive, and the fig tree are wanting in Babylonia proper, but they flourish luxuriantly in Aramaic Mesopotamia. The accounts of later writers corroborate Herodotus. Even as late as the golden age of the caliphs of Bagdad—*i. e.*, the eighth and ninth centuries of our era—

[1] Cf. Ashurbanipal Rassam Cylinder, Col. I., 46 fg.: "The corn was five cubits high in its growth, the ears were five-sixths of a cubit long."

Babylonia was an extremely fruitful land. Subsequent Turkish mismanagement has changed the flourishing fields into desolate and unhealthy regions. The numerous canals, which once lessened the force of the yearly floods and distributed the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates in all directions, are to-day all but filled with sand. In the poor villages dwells a still poorer population, whose flocks graze on the sparsely growing grass. At the present time, since there are no canals to distribute the water during the overflow season, the land becomes, especially at the south, an immense swamp. Only the ruins rising out of the broad plains remind us of the brilliant past of that region. When we read the description which Loftus[1] gives of the present aspect of the district of Warka (the Erech of antiquity), we recall the prophetic utterance of the Old Testament seer respecting Babylon: "A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her; . . . a sword is upon her treasures, and they shall be robbed. A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up: . . . and it shall be no more inhabited forever; neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation. As when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah and the neighbor cities thereof, saith the Lord; so shall no man dwell there, neither shall any son of man sojourn therein." (Jer. l. 37–40.)

The former exceptional fertility of Babylonia was caused by climatic conditions, and especially by artificial irrigation. The climate in the Euphrates and

[1] W. K. Loftus, "Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana." London, 1857.

Tigris valleys is very varied: while in the north, at the foot of the mountains, it is often cold and the Tigris at Mosul frozen over, in the southern regions the temperature in June is 122° Fahrenheit in the shade. The temperature modifies suddenly when the summer is over. Then a luxuriant flora begins to deck the broad plains, but only in those regions in which, owing to the proximity of streams, the soil is perpetually watered. The subtropical heat produces, in conjunction with this abundant water supply, a constantly flourishing vegetation. The principal rainy season in Babylonia occurs during the months of November and December, while in the month of May the rain ceases entirely. We infer from the names of the Babylonian months that the same climatic conditions prevailed in antiquity. As far as their significance can be determined from their ideograms and etymology, the names of the winter months (November–April) have reference to the rainy season. The yearly overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates was a great factor in the development of Babylonia. In the early spring the snow begins to melt on the northern mountains, especially the Niphate range. At the beginning of March the Tigris, and about two weeks later the Euphrates, rise above their banks and convert the Babylonian plain into a great sea. On account of this yearly inundation continuous earth deposits are made at the mouths of the streams, so that the shores of the Persian Gulf encroach more and more upon the sea. In fact, the entire southern part of the country has been formed in this way. The regular overflows, which oftentimes proved destructive, forced the inhabitants, in very early times, to build dams and dikes. Furthermore, the ne-

cessity for a regular irrigation of the land led the inhabitants to distribute their excessive water supply by canals and specially constructed machines. Herodotus gives the following description: "The land is irrigated not as in Egypt, by the water being brought in over the field, but by hand and by engines; for the whole country of Babylonia, just like Egypt, is cut into canals; and the greatest of these canals is navigable and extends from the Euphrates toward the southeast to another stream—*i. e.*, the Tigris—on which the city of Ninos (Nineveh) is situated." (I., 193.) Concerning this overflow, which watered the neighboring regions, Herodotus seems to have had no accurate information. How extensive was once this network of great and small canals is shown by the fact that at the present time a traveler journeying in Babylonia passes in a single day thirty or forty of them. But the artificial irrigation does not consist simply in numerous canals, but includes also the great basins which serve to regulate the course of the stream during the rainy season—*e. g.*, the basin of Sippara, which will be mentioned later. Wherever the canals were insufficient for watering the land, on account of the elevation, numerous remains show that engines were placed which in flowing water were set in motion by water wheels, and in still water by beasts of burden. These contrivances, as they exist to-day, are described by a recent traveler as follows: "There was a rude ferry here, and here, for the first time, we saw ox water wheels working. These, which are the characteristic water wheels of the Babylonian plain (*jird* is their native name), consist first of an excavation in the river bank, down which the water skins can be lowered perpendicularly to the

water. Above this there is a framework sustaining two block wheels, about which the ropes run. From this a decline is cut landward, which the oxen (ordinarily there are two wheels together) descend to drag up the skins and ascend to lower them. To the bottom of each skin is attached a long rope, and to the neck a shorter one; so that the neck is held up and the water held in until the wicker platform is reached, on which, by the action of the ropes themselves, it is poured out. From this platform it is distributed, sometimes to a great distance, by little mud-built channels. The wheels are in operation from before sunrise until after sunset." ("Nippur; or, Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates." Peters. Vol. I., 135 fg.)

The cuneiform inscriptions, thus far discovered, show that canals, dikes, and aqueducts were constructed by Ḫammurabi (c. 2250 B. C.), Samsu-iluna (2232–2197), Tiglath-Pileser (c. 1120–1100), Ashur-dan II. (c. 930–911), Ashur-naṣirpal (884–860), Sennacherib (705–681), and Nebuchadrezar (605–562). In the place above quoted (I., 193) Herodotus mentions a great navigable canal. This may be the canal Pallacopas, mentioned by several classic writers—*e. g.*, Arrian VII., 21—which excited the astonishment of Alexander the Great. It began below Babylon and stretched westward from the Euphrates in the direction of northwest to southeast as far as the Persian Gulf. But perhaps Herodotus may have meant the great "royal canal" (Νααρμάλχα; *cf.* Strabo, XVI., 1, 27; Pliny, H. N. VI., 120), navigable for grain transports, which connected the Tigris and Euphrates and whose construction Berossus assigns to Nebuchadrezar.

The two streams to which Mesopotamia is so much

indebted were designated by the people with reverent epithets, the Euphrates being called the "Soul of the Land" (Napšat Mâti) and the Tigris the "Bringer of the Flood" (Babilat Nuḫši[1]). Southern Babylonia alone had no part in this canal system. This region lying along the Persian Gulf remained a marsh, and was a favorite lurking place for retreating hosts.[2]

Geography of Babylonia.

Herodotus gives scanty accounts of the geography of Babylonia. We observe that our historian by Ἀσσυρία (I., 178) designates not merely the country of Assyria, but the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. Among the towns of Assyria he enumerates Babylon. The name Ninos, for Nineveh, seems somewhat remarkable as contrasted with the common phonetic writing in the cuneiform documents—*i. e.*, Ninua or Ninâ. In the Greek writers Ninos is also the name of the husband of the half-mythical queen Semiramis. The name of the king was applied to the town. The name Ninâ is the original non-Semitic form of the word of which Ninua is a Semitic modification. According to Delitzsch the last part of this word, *nâ*, is explained through K. 4629 as meaning "resting place." What the first part, *Ni*, means is not so clear.

The chief city of Babylonia is called, by Herodotus and other Greek writers, Βαβυλών. The phonetic spelling of this name in the cuneiform inscriptions of the oldest period was either Babilu or Babili ("Gate of

[1] II., R. 51, No. 1, ob. 25 *b*.

[2] *Cf.* the Prism Inscription of Sennacherib, Col. III., 45-60; Col. V., 8–12.

God"), but in the later documents we find it written **Bab-ilâni** ("Gate of the Gods"), which explains the Greek form Βαβυλών. With the exception of Babylon, Herodotus mentions only two towns of Babylonia: Is ('Ις, I., 179) and Arderikka ('Αρδέρικκα, I., 185). He places the former on a stream of the same name, tributary to the Euphrates, eight days' journey from Babylon. Of this stream Herodotus says: "Is carries down many lumps of bitumen in its current, whence the bitumen was brought to Babylon for the construction of its walls." This town, which is situated some two hundred kilometers north of Babylon, a distance which corresponds with the estimate of Herodotus, is generally identified with the modern Hit, concerning which a recent traveler says: "Hit has been inhabited since the natives of Babylon learned to use pitch, or bitumen, as mortar, and from that time to this it has been the principal source of supply of that product. As already stated, the chief bitumen springs lie close behind the modern town. Beyond, and around these, stretches a dismal black plain, fetid with the smell of sulphureted hydrogen. . . . Bitter streams trickle downward to the Euphrates. The rock which crops out here and there beneath your feet and the cliffs that border the plain are seamed with pitchy deposits. Above the town hangs a cloud of smoke from the burning bitumen in the furnaces of the shipwrights and the ovens of the housewives. Strings of women pass by on their way to and from the river, and the vessels balanced on their heads are made of wickerwork or porous earthenware smeared over with bitumen. In their belts the men carry short clubs, with round balls of bitumen for heads. You enter the town and meet a

man in the narrow streets hastening homeward with a vessel full of hot bitumen, to make or mend some household utensils. The roofs of the houses above your head are smeared with bitumen, but on the streets beneath your feet it is rarely used."[1] This use of bitumen for mortar in the buildings and quays of Babylon furnishes an interesting commentary on the Tower of Babel story in the eleventh chapter of Genesis: "And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime [bitumen] had they for mortar." (Gen. xi. 3.)

Herodotus places Arderikka on the Euphrates, some distance above Babylon. In this vicinity it is said the Babylonian queen, Nitocris, turned the course of the Euphrates, through artificial canals, so that the stream had to touch Arderikka three times in its course. Herodotus says: "Those who go from this sea (Mediterranean) to Babylon, and sail down the Euphrates, must come to this village three times in three days." (I., 185.)

The situation of Arderikka is to-day hard to determine. Since the buildings ascribed to Nitocris (as will be discussed later), were very probably the work of Nebuchadrezar, we may naturally recall in this description one of the canal structures erected by that king. In all probability Nebuchadrezar had to dig a new bed for the Euphrates with great curves, so as to regulate the course of the stream. He then diverted the current of the stream to the great basin

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[1] "Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates," Vol. I., 160 fg. Peters.

built by him adjoining Sippara, so that in the threatened overflow the waters might be collected therein. Accordingly, Arderikka must have been situated above Sippara. The river Euphrates, according to Herodotus, extends to the Red Sea (εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν Θάλασσαν, I., 180). Under the term "Red Sea" he includes the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf (cf. I., 1, 202; II., 8, 11, 102, 158, 159; III., 30; IV., 37, 40). Our "Red Sea," in its narrower sense, is called Ἀράβιος Κόλπος (II., 11, 102, 158, 159), and also sometimes Ἐρυθρὴ Θάλασσα (II., 8, 158; IV., 42).

The Size of Babylon.

Herodotus gives us quite a lengthy description of Babylon, from which we infer that he had visited the city. In order to understand the condition of Babylon at the time of his visit it will be necessary to review briefly its history. Although Babylon, for the first time, during the reign of Nebuchadrezar[1] became the political center of a **world empire** and the **permanent** residence of the Babylonian king, yet the city long before had possessed great importance, the founding of Babylon reaching back at least to the third millennium B. C. Before the time of Ḫammurabi (c. 2250 B. C.) the city had no great importance as compared with the other old towns of Babylonia, such as Larsam, Eridu, Erech. Up to the time of this king it was the head of a small, yet independent, commonwealth; but after the

[1]This name appears in the Bible in two forms: *Nebuchadrezzar* and the less accurate *Nebuchadnezzar*. The spelling *Nebuchadrezar* is adopted here as being nearer the original Nabû-kudurri-uṣur ("Nebo protect the boundary"). Strabo and other Greek writers transliterate Ναβουκοδρόσορος (Ναβοκοδρόσορος).

time of Ḫammurabi the power of the chiefs dwelling in Babylon extended over the whole of Babylonia. It was this king who united Babylonia, north and south, under one scepter, and gave the new kingdom solidarity for more than a thousand years. In civilization, and especially in religious affairs, Babylon was an important center. After the Assyrian kings had extended their power over Western Asia Babylon remained the seat of a vassal king; at least the vassal bore the title "**King of Babylon,**" although he did not always reside in that city. According to the East India House Inscription of Nebuchadrezar[1] the kings had to go to Babylon at least once a year on the Zagmuku feast—*i. e.*, a New Year's feast and procession—to sacrifice in the temple of Merodach, "the Lord of the Gods." Nabopolassar, and especially Nebuchadrezar, made Babylon a permanent royal residence.

During the time of the Assyrian supremacy the Babylonians made repeated attempts to throw off the oppressor's yoke, and these revolutions brought upon them a terrible catastrophe in the reign of Sennacherib. This ruler conquered Babylon in 689 B. C., and in his anger punished the inhabitants by a promiscuous slaughter and complete devastation of the town. Sennacherib describes the situation as follows: "The city and houses are destroyed. I laid them waste from foundation to roof with fire; rampart, wall, temple, and tower I tore down and threw them into the canal Arachtu. Through the city I dug ditches and laid waste its site with water. The building of its foundations I destroyed. Greater than the deluge did I make

[1] E. I. H., II., 56 fg.; VII., 23–25.

its annihilation."[1] Thus was the proud and beautiful Babylon, which in Isaiah xiii. 19 was called "The glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldeans' pride," brought to desolation. The rebuilding of the town was like founding it anew. Esar-haddon, Sennacherib's successor, in the beginning of his reign, in order to win the loyalty of the Babylonians, gave command to rebuild the town, its fortifications, and the temples. The obelisk of Esar-haddon, the so-called "Black Stone" (I. R., 49 and 50), found at Nineveh, gives us some account of these building operations. In this document the king regards the destruction of Babylon as a punishment sent by the god Merodach, and explains that he has undertaken to appease the wrath of the gods and to free the city from this curse. "Esagila, the temple of the gods, and its sanctuaries; Babylon, the city of favor; Imgur-Bêl, its inner wall; Nimitti-Bêl, its outer wall, I rebuilt from their foundation to their summit. Great, high, and mighty I erected them. The images of the great gods I repaired." (Col. IV., 16–25.)

During the reign of **Ashurbanipal,** the successor of Esar-haddon, the city, which had again become the head of a great alliance formed against Nineveh, was besieged till starvation was imminent. Babylon was taken, but not destroyed.

After the fall of Nineveh and the founding of the new Babylonian empire, the confines of the city were extended. **Nabopolassar** turned his attention to the improvement of the fortifications, especially the inner

[1] *Cf.* Mürdter-Delitzsch, "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens." 2 Aufl. (1891), p. 201 *f.*

rampart (Imgur-Bêl), and the outer wall (Nimitti-Bêl). He dammed up the canal Arachtu, strengthened the walls of the Euphrates with brick, and made a great festal road from the sanctuary of Merodach "to A-a-îbur-šâbû, the street of Babylon opposite the gate of Beltis."[1] This work was completed in the time of **Nebuchadrezar,** son of Nabopolassar. It was this king who made great Babylon the mighty city of antiquity. In his reign the town became the permanent royal residence. Nebuchadrezar expressly states that during his whole reign he dwelt only in Babylon and the contiguous sister town, Borsippa, while many of his predecessors "in other towns which they preferred had built palaces, and had taken their habitation, had heaped up their treasures therein, had stored their possessions, and only came to Šuanna (Babylon) . . . at the time of the Zagmuku festival.[2]

The numerous inscriptions of Nebuchadrezar inform us about his building operations. The most important document is the great stone inscription, compiled toward the close of his reign, which is preserved in the East India office at London. This narrates, in 620 lines, the service which Nebuchadrezar rendered in increasing, beautifying, and fortifying the town. The contents of this document, which are not arranged chronologically, but according to the nature of the work, we can divide into three parts: building of (*a*) **temples,** (*b*) **fortifications,** (*c*) **palaces.**

Nebuchadrezar turned his attention to the two great

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[1] Nebuchadrezar mentions these buildings of his father in the East India House Inscription. (Col. V., 15–17.)

[2] E. I. H., Col. VII., 9 fg.

sanctuaries of Babylonia, the primitive temples Esagila and Ezida. Esagila was a combination of sanctuaries dedicated to the great "Bel of Babylon" (Merodach) and his family, and was built on an elevated terrace or kind of acropolis. This structure, which goes back to the times of Ḫammurabi, with Ezida at Borsippa received the special attention of all the kings of Babylon. Nebuchadrezar adorned the sanctuaries of Esagila most magnificently and prepared for them costly utensils.

Ezida, the principal temple of the god Nebo at Borsippa, was the second great sanctuary of Babylonia, and was probably joined with Esagila by a festal road. Nebuchadrezar repaired this temple and enlarged the tower, which was called "House of the Seven Lights of Heaven and Earth." Besides these old and important sanctuaries, several others are mentioned which the king built or restored. The repairing of the two old fortification walls, Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, which was begun by Nabopolassar, was completed. To these defenses, which date from the earliest times, Nebuchadrezar added another. At a distance of 4,000 cubits beyond the outer wall (Nimitti-Bêl) on the east of Babylon Nebuchadrezar built a new fortification which consisted of a "mountain high" wall and an outlying ditch inclosing half of the town. Finally, at no great distance eastward, the king dug a monstrous basin, presumably opposite Sippara, and surrounded it with an earth wall as a protection against the overflow. Noteworthy also is the statement of Nebuchadrezar that he built the wall of Borsippa, called Ṭabi-supur-šu ("good is its inclosing wall"), and surrounded it with a ditch the scarp of which he strengthened with bitumen and brick. Ac-

cordingly Borsippa had its own city wall and could not have lain, as Oppert supposes, within the outer defense (Nimitti-Bêl) of Babylon, much less within the inner (Imgur-Bêl).

The climax of this period of building activity was reached when Nebuchadrezar completed a palace for himself in fifteen days. The old palace, where Nabopolassar had dwelt, lay within the inner city wall, touching it on one side. Nebuchadrezar practically rebuilt this palace, but behind it, beyond Imgur-Bêl, the king erected a great earth terrace which was surrounded on two sides by a wall 490 cubits long. It was on this terrace that the new palace was built.

Berossus mentions a peculiar creation of Nebuchadrezar, the so-called **hanging gardens,** which he erected to please his Median wife, Amytis. That this terrace structure originated with an Assyrian queen, Semiramis, Berossus regards as an invention of the Greeks. Herodotus does not speak of these gardens.

The accounts of Berossus have been recently confirmed by the excavations of Rassam, who found in the walls, which he recognized as the ruins of the "hanging gardens," bricks bearing the stamp of Nebuchadrezar. It was at this period that Babylon could claim the title of the handsomest and best fortified town of the East. Hence the author of the book of Daniel could justly put into the mouth of Nebuchadrezar the proud words: "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place, by the might of my power?" (Dan. iv. 30.) The great king did not foresee that his memory would be so soon forgotten that Herodotus (c. 450) could not correctly state the name of the founder of these great buildings; still less could

the king, who regarded the town as impregnable, foresee that in a few decades after his death Babylon would fall into the hands of his enemies. **Cyrus,** to whom the town voluntarily opened its gates, not only improved the political *status*, but also participated in the Babylonian worship and fostered it in many ways. The decline of the town began with the conquest of Babylon by the Persians, since it ceased to be a royal residence, and became merely the chief town of a satrapy. In the year 488 **Darius I.** demolished the walls and towers as well as the fortifications, in order to take away from the inhabitants every hope of reëstablishing their independence. In the reign of **Xerxes I.** (485–465) the town was again conquered and plundered. It was in this conquest that the great temple of Bel-Merodach (Esagila) was destroyed. From that time the decay of the town was rapid, yet when Herodotus visited Babylon a part of its old splendor must have still remained, for he begins his vivid description of the town with the words: "No other town which we know was so beautifully built." (I., 178.) When **Alexander the Great** had conquered Persia, he planned to make Babylon the metropolis of his broad empire, but he died, during its reconstruction, in the palace which was once Nebuchadrezar's. After that the population of Babylon withdrew more and more to the newly built town, Seleucia. In later times Roman officials dwelt in Babylon. Strabo (XVI. 1, 5) calls the city a deserted town. It is hard to say when Babylon ceased to exist. Its abundant building material was appropriated in the Middle Ages by the neighboring tribes to build the cities of Ctesiphon, Bagdad, Kufa, Mesched-Ali, Mesched-Hussein, and sev-

eral smaller places in the vicinity. Hillah, which stands on the site of Babylon, is also built out of this old material, and even to this day a lively trade is carried on in the bricks that lie in the *débris*. Only a few rising ruins remind us of the history of the former metropolis of the world. The topographical accounts of the Greek writers and of the Babylonian documents make it possible to reconstruct the plan of the town and bring its picture before our eyes.

In the description of Babylon which **Herodotus** furnishes, the accounts of the **extent of the city** are of special interest. "It is situated," says he, "in a great plain and is a quadrangle each side of which is 120 stades. The number of stades in the circumference of the town amount in all to 480." (I., 178.) According to a further description, the Euphrates flows from north to south right through the middle of the city. On each bank runs a wall, so that the town consists of two parts separated by the river and inclosed on all sides by fortifications. Since each side of this great rectangle, according to Herodotus, was 120 stades, the city must have covered an area of about two hundred square miles. Even if we accept the statements of Ctesias, we must infer that Babylon was built on a plan different from that of modern towns. Great parts of the land inclosed by the walls were certainly used for gardens, fruit trees, and palm groves; several portions were probably reserved for the cultivation of grain.

The account of Herodotus differs essentially from those of other writers of antiquity. Ctesias[1] puts the

[1] Diodorus, II., 7, § 3.

circumference at 360 stades; Strabo,[1] at 385; Clitarch,[2] at 365; Curtius,[3] at 368. Simply to imagine, as Brüll[4] does, that Herodotus exaggerated is not a sufficient explanation of these differences. We must remember that Herodotus is an eyewitness, and the oldest eyewitness of the Greek writers. Even if the walls had suffered great injury in his day, yet their ruins remained, and from these an observer could obtain quite an accurate estimate. It is hard to believe that Herodotus, in a superficial reckoning, could have erred a quarter of the whole amount. We might rather suppose that he had not seen the whole ruins of the walls, and that his voucher, a Persian, had exaggerated. To show the accuracy of the accounts of Herodotus we have to-day at our disposal two means, the **ruins of Babylon** and the **cuneiform inscriptions.** The ruins of Babylon were first investigated by Rich, who published an account of his researches under the title: "Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811." We learn that he made a subsequent visit to the same place from a second memoir on Babylon published at London in 1818. Investigations were also made by Ker Porter in 1818, by Loftus and Taylor under the direction of Rawlinson (1849–1855), by the French expedition under Jules Oppert (1851–54), by Layard in 1851, by George Smith in 1876, by Rassam in three expeditions (1877–78, 1878–79, 1880–81).

As soon as Oppert had examined the ruins of Baby-

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[1] Strabo, XVI., c. i., § 5.

[2] Diodorus, II., 7, § 3.

[3] Curtius Vita Alexandri Magni, V., i.

[4] Herodots babylonische Nachrichten, I., p. 13.

lon he believed he had determined the position and circumference of the two walls, Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, as well as the east wall constructed by Nebuchadrezar. He based his belief on the claim that the mounds of ruins contained the remnants of the old walls. According to his chart, the modern Hillah marked the center of old Babylon. The city itself, with its walls, formed a quadrangle sloping toward the northeast, of which the Euphrates was the diagonal (from northwest to southeast). According to Oppert's estimate, the **outer fortification walls** embraced an area of **five hundred and thirteen square kilometers —*i. e.*, about two hundred square miles.** Therefore the length of each side of the square was **fourteen miles** and its circuit **fifty-six miles—four hundred and eighty stades.** By this estimate Oppert thinks he has proved the correctness of the statements of Herodotus. He explains the difference between the figures of Herodotus and those of later authors on the hypothesis that Herodotus meant the outer fortifications, while the three hundred and sixty stades of Ctesias may refer to the length of the inner wall. It is clear that in the time of Herodotus the two lines must have been apparent, for he expressly declares: "This wall is like a coat of mail, but a second wall within makes a circuit not much weaker than the outer wall, but smaller in circumference." (I., 181.) The figures of Herodotus, as he himself says, refer to the outer wall, but doubtless Ctesias and the later writers also intended to give the length of the outer limit. It may be possible, but not probable, that they mistook the inner for the outer wall, which might have been no longer recognized.

Oppert's plans and charts have been verified by later

investigators, in so far as Rawlinson, as well as Jones and Shelby, declare that they have found a trace of the great wall. But the mounds of ruins which formed the basis of Oppert's conjectures cannot justify his delineation. It must seem strange that no trace of the walls of Babylon remains to-day, after the work of Nebuchadrezar. In several places, in the report of his building operations, he specially emphasizes the fact that he built the foundation of bitumen and brick immediately over the subterranean water (miḫrat mê[1]). At another time he says he has laid the foundations "on the breast of the lower world" (ina irat kigallu[2]). It must be remembered that since the days of the Persian power the walls, in so far as they were not torn down, were left to decay, and that, as remarked above, the existing material was appropriated for other structures. We are not sure, in spite of repeated excavations, that the remains of the old fortifications are not extant. Smith complains that the work of excavation in Babylon has been conducted very carelessly.

The existing **ruins** furnish us **no accurate conclusion** concerning the circumference of the town or the extent of the fortification wall which we can use to verify the accounts of Herodotus. Further assistance is furnished by the **cuneiform text.** It is fortunate that the baked bricks of the time of Nebuchadrezar bear his royal stamp.[3] In the midst of the heap of

[1] E. I. H., VII., 61.

[2] E. I. H., VIII., 60.

[3] George Rawlinson, "Egypt and Babylon," says that nine-tenths of the bricks of Mesopotamia are stamped with the name of Nebuchadrezar. Peters, "Nippur," etc., mentions finding at Bagdad, as well as at many other localities, bricks bearing the stamp of Nebuchadrezar.

ruins which to-day bears the name "Kasr" (fortress) are found limestone tablets with the inscription: "Great palace of Nebuchadrezar, king of Babylon, the son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who increased the honor of the gods Nabû and Marduk, his lords." Therefore we can at least decide which of the ruins existing to-day go back to the times of Nebuchadrezar. There is, however, no inscription extant from which we can **directly** decide the length of Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl.

If we wish, then, to verify the correctness of Herodotus' figures, we must measure the **extreme distances of the remaining ruins from one another.** The ruins of Babylon begin fourteen kilometers north of the present town of Hillah, and extend ten kilometers south of the town. Their breadth—that is, their extension from east to west—amounts to nineteen or twenty kilometers. The area covered by these ruins is divided into two unequal parts by the Euphrates. The greater part lies on the east side; the **most northerly** heap of ruins, called by the inhabitants Babil, lies on the east bank of the Euphrates, some ten kilometers distant from Hillah. These ruins, which form an extended hill, probably contain the remains of the "hanging gardens," and once lay within the wall of Babylon; the stones bear the name of Nebuchadrezar. The **most southern** ruin, called **Birs Nimroud,** situated about ten kilometers southwest of Hillah, marks the remains of the Nebo temple of Borsippa, especially the terraced tower, or ziggurat. Borsippa did not lie within the walls of Babylon, but had its own walls, which are mentioned by Nebuchadrezar. This town was situated southwest of Babylon, on the west bank

of the Euphrates, and was joined to the city by a festal road. The outer fortification walls of Babylon could not have been very far from Birs Nimroud. The distance is twenty kilometers—*i. e.*, about fourteen miles. Since the old wall of Babylon ran north from Babil, we can safely estimate the extent of the town from north to south at fourteen miles. The ruins also extend in the direction of west to east about twenty kilometers. Accordingly we can reckon, without difficulty, a circumference of fifty-six miles (four hundred and eighty stades). Against the statements of Herodotus no valid arguments can be brought.

The **difference between Herodotus** and the **later Greek writers** can be explained in several ways. The remains of the outer fortification may have been extant in the time of Herodotus; but if later writers failed to recognize these, they would consequently underestimate the circuit of the town. Again it is possible that Herodotus might have taken his measurements from the eastern part of Babylon, which, on account of the east wall constructed by Nebuchadrezar, had a greater extent than the western part, on which the later writers may have based their figures. Doubtless the extent of the town from west to east, owing to the east wall of Nebuchadrezar, was greater than from north to south. Herodotus, assuming a quadrangular area, had perhaps measured only one side; the later writers may also have measured only one side, but in a different direction. The most probable explanation is that **Herodotus included Borsippa with Babylon,** and consequently had greater dimensions as the basis of his measurement than those writers who took into their account only Babylon proper. That Herodotus reckoned Borsippa as a

part of Babylon will be clear when we show later that he regards the Nebo temple of Borsippa as situated in the midst of Babylon. If this be true, we are not warranted in supposing that the accounts of Herodotus about the **size** of Babylon are exaggerations. Herodotus gives the **height** of the walls as two hundred cubits, and their **breadth** fifty cubits. (I., 178.) He further adds that the "royal cubit," of which he speaks, is broader by three fingers than the ordinary one; hence their height would be about three hundred and eighty-five feet and their width eighty-five feet. Diodorus Siculus, on the authority of Ctesias, says that the height of the walls amounted to two hundred cubits (three hundred feet); but he remarks that, according to later writers, their height is only fifty cubits (seventy-five feet). Pliny (Hist. Nat., VI., 26) speaks of two hundred and thirty-five feet, while Strabo estimates but fifty cubits (seventy-five feet). These differences may be explained by the rapid dilapidation of the walls. Herodotus had not seen their former height, for he himself states that Darius had torn down the walls of the town and removed all the gates. (III., 159.) He says nothing of their rebuilding in later times; however it is possible that their destruction by Darius was not complete, and that remains were still standing in several places on which he, and later writers, based their estimates. In that case, the difference might be explained by dilapidation. Oppert (Expéd. I., 225) would apply the height given by Herodotus only to certain parts of the walls—viz., the towers, while H. C. Rawlinson ("Herodotus," London, 1852, Note to I., 178, G. Rawlinson) remarks that, according to his view, the height of the circuit wall

of Babylon did not exceed sixty to seventy feet. But we must distinguish the simple circuit wall (Nimitti-Bêl) from the higher inner wall (Imgur-Bêl).

If Herodotus had followed his voucher, it may be conjectured that the latter, being of Persian descent, was guilty of exaggeration, since only scanty remains of the walls were extant. The Persians, who had conquered Babylon under Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes, were inclined to represent the town as a strong fortification. But we must remember it was more than mere boasting which led Nebuchadrezar to characterize the walls he had built by the epithet "mountain high" (Šadaniš[1]).

The accounts of Herodotus, concerning the material of the walls and the gates, correspond in general to those of the inscriptions. That **bitumen** was used as mortar in the construction of the walls is shown in several places in the building inscriptions of Nebuchadrezar—*e. g.*, "with bitumen and brick" (ina kupri u agguri[2]). Furthermore, that the gates were **bronze** is proved by the cuneiform documents, according to which they were made of cedar and overlaid with copper.[3]

The Basin of Sippara.

Herodotus relates that the "**queen, Nitocris,**" dug a basin above Babylon, near to the stream, "water deep" (*i. e.*, down to subterranean water). The circuit of the basin amounted to four hundred and twenty stades. "And when this was dug she brought stones and surrounded it with a wall." (I., 185.) This basin must have lain on the east bank of the Euphrates, for He-

[1] E. I. H., VI., 34; VIII., 51; IX., 21.
[2] E. I. H., VI., 31; VIII., 56; IX., 20.
[3] E. I. H., VI., 37.

rodotus remarks: "She constructed this work in that portion of the country where the passes were and the shortest ways from Media, in order that the Medes might not have communication with her land and spy out her affairs." (I., 185.) Abydenos[1] also speaks of this basin, but he puts the circumference at forty parasangs (*i. e.*, twelve hundred stades). Meyer[2] suggests that we substitute the number fourteen for forty. In that case the figures correspond with the four hundred and twenty stades of Herodotus. Diodorus Siculus, who compiles only from older sources, estimates the length of each side at three hundred stades (*i. e.*, ten parasangs). We have every reason to believe that the figures of Herodotus are correct, since the circuit wall of the basin was visible in his day. Later, by neglect of the canals and dikes, the neighborhood became, by degrees, a great swamp, so that the boundary line of the artificial basin disappeared more and more. The statement that the basin was dug as a protection against the Medes points to the time of Nebuchadrezar, the first Babylonian king, who proposed a defense against Median invasion. The inscriptions of Nebuchadrezar give proof of building such a basin. The passage reads as follows: "In order that the enemy may not encroach upon Babylon, I have surrounded the land with mighty waters as with the swells of the sea; and in order that their overflow, like the overflow of the great sea (lit., rolling sea), . . might not break through their banks, I constructed a strong dam against them, and with a wall of brick I surrounded it."[3]

[1] *Cf.* Eusebius, "Praepar Evang.," IX., 41.

[2] "Geschichte des Altertums," I., 590.

[3] E. I. H., VI., 39–52.

The Citadel and "Temple of Zeus Belos."

Herodotus says little about the buildings and streets of Babylon. "The town itself," he states, "which is full of houses three and four stories high, is intersected by streets which run in straight lines; not only the principal streets, but also the cross streets which lead to the river." (I., 180.) According to this description, we must believe that the **principal streets** ran from north to south, or parallel to the river. Such a principal street, which divides the town from one end to the other, is mentioned in the inscriptions of Nebuchadrezar under the name of A-a-îbur-šâbû;[1] it consisted of an elevated terrace structure built by the king, and served as a festal road of the god Merodach (Mašdaḫa bêli rabî Marduk[2]).

Of the many prominent structures of Babylon, Herodotus mentions only two—*i. e.*, the royal palace and the temple of "Zeus Belos." He speaks of them as follows: "In one half of the city was built the royal palace, surrounded by a great and strong circuit wall, and in the other half stood the sanctuary of Zeus Belos with bronze gates, this being in existence even in my time. It is two stades in each direction, and is a rectangle. In the midst of the sanctuary is built a solid tower a stade long and a stade broad, and on this tower is built another tower, and another tower upon this, up to the number of eight towers. Winding about these towers on the outside is an ascent; and when one reaches the middle of this ascent he finds a resting place and seats where those who ascend may sit and

[1] E. I. H., Col. V., 15.
[2] E. I. H., V., 19.

rest. On the last tower is a great temple. . . . There is also another temple below, within the sanctuary at Babylon, where there is a great golden image of Zeus seated, and before it is a great golden table, and the footstool and throne are of gold." (I., 181, fg.)

Let us endeavor to identify these two structures with the buildings known from the cuneiform documents. Herodotus places the citadel **on a different bank of the Euphrates from the "temple of Zeus Belos."** From the inscriptions and the extant ruins of Babylon we are convinced that the **royal palace of Nabopolassar,** as well as the new structure of Nebuchadrezar, was situated in the **eastern portion** of the town. Nabopolassar had built a palace in Babylon near the old temple Esagila. This lay in the extreme north of the town on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and was bounded by Imgur-Bêl, the East Canal, the Euphrates, and the festal road A-a-îbur-šâbû. Esagila stood in close union with this palace. (E. I. H., VII. 36 fg.) Since the existing edifice was not sufficient, and its extension impossible because of its surroundings, Nebuchadrezar laid out a definite area between Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl, erected thereon a terrace and surrounded it by a strong wall. Within this wall, the one which Herodotus mentions (I., 181), Nebuchadrezar built a new palace. The king designates it by the epithet "elevated;" consequently it must have seemed to dominate the town like an acropolis. The new structure was joined in some way with the old palace. This great complex structure, erected by Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezar, is doubtless to be identified with the "royal palace" of our historian. It is possible that in the time of Herodotus royal edifices were also extant on the west bank,

perhaps even the palace of the predecessors of Nabopolassar. Since these buildings after the time of Nabopolassar no longer served their original purpose, and were consequently insignificant as compared with the new palace, we must feel certain that in the time of Herodotus the palace of Nebuchadrezar was called the "royal palace" *par excellence*. We cannot accept the theory of Rawlinson, which declares that Herodotus must have found the palace of Nebuchadrezar destroyed, and consequently speaks of a palace of Neriglissar (Nergal-šar-uṣur) on the west bank; for Neriglissar, a successor of Nebuchadrezar, restored the palace of his illustrious predecessor.[1] The place where the palace of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezar stood is shown to-day by those ruins in which bricks are found stamped with the name of Nebuchadrezar. The most northerly of the ruins which rise out of the extended *débris* is called **Babil** (also Murklubeh or Mudschelibeh). Owing to the remains of aqueducts we judge that these ruins mark the site of the "hanging gardens" which Nebuchadrezar erected to please his Median wife, Amytis. The heap of ruins immediately south of Babil, which to-day bears the name *El Kasr* (the fortress), probably contains the remains of the new palace of Nebuchadrezar. Again, the hill, Tel Amran, which lies still farther South, may mark the site of the old palace of Nabopolassar.

If the "royal palace" mentioned by Herodotus can be thus identified with the complex structure erected by Nebuchadrezar and his predecessor, then the "temple of Zeus Belos" can be no other than the Nebo temple

[1] *Cf.* inscription of cylinder at Cambridge, Col. II., 15–30.

of Borsippa, which is called in the inscriptions Ezida. Next to Esagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, Ezida of Borsippa was the greatest sanctuary of the land. It is with pride that the Babylonian and Assyrian kings, when they became lords of Babylon, called themselves "restorers" or "builders" of Esagila and Ezida. Nebuchadrezar frequently mentions (*e. g.*, E. I. H., III., 18 fg.) this great sanctuary, which, like Esagila, was composed of numerous structures. Further mention is found in an inscription relating to the building of the bank-walls of Babylon and Borsippa (V. R., 34, Col. I., 50), but especially in the so-called Borsippa Inscription (I. R., 51, No. 1). The king narrates here how he restored the terrace-tower of Borsippa (Zikûrat), called *E-ur-imin-an-ki* ("house of the seven spheres of heaven and earth"), which a former king had left incomplete and which had been injured by the storms. The cuneiform document which contains this report was found by H. Rawlinson in 1854 in the ruins of Birs Nimroud in the third story of what was originally the seven-terraced tower. Consequently we are sure that Birs Nimroud, the most remarkable ruins on Babylonian soil, represents the remains of the former Nebo temple at Borsippa.

That Herodotus had in mind the Nebo temple at Borsippa, when he speaks of the temple of Zeus Belos, is shown by the situation of Birs Nimroud. According to him the temple of Zeus Belos was situated on one bank of the Euphrates and the royal palace on the other. Since the royal palace, as we have already shown, was in the eastern part of the town, the temple of Zeus Belos must have stood on the western bank; but Ezida lay here, if not the only, at least by far the

most important temple of Borsippa. If Herodotus mentioned any edifices of Babylon, he surely must have referred to that temple, whose ruins, even at this day, remind us of the splendors of the old metropolis. Later investigations point to the identification of the ruins at Birs Nimroud with this temple.

When we consider the **system of building** at Birs Nimroud, we find the same arrangements in stories that Herodotus describes. Of the first four stories we can get somewhat accurate dimensions. Moreover the relative size of the present ruins agrees with the statement of Herodotus, according to which the circumference of the terrace-tower at the base amounts to four stades (seven hundred and forty meters), and the length of either side of the quadrangle one stade (one hundred and eighty-five meters). Rich, who examined Birs Nimroud, estimated the circumference of the ruins, near the base, at about six hundred and ninety meters; Oppert, seven hundred or seven hundred and ten meters. H. Rawlinson differs from these estimates, but the difference may be explained on the supposition that Herodotus (followed by Rich, Oppert, Ker Porter, Layard) based his figures on the terrace-structure, while the smaller estimate of Rawlinson was based on the dimensions of the first story.

Some have urged as an objection **against identifying** the Nebo temple at Borsippa with the "temple of Zeus Belos" that the god to whom Ezida was dedicated was called Nebo. The name "temple of Zeus Belos" seems to apply to Esagila, since Merodach, to whom that temple was dedicated, was generally called Bel *par excellence—e. g.*, Imgur-Bêl and Nimitti-Bêl. But we must remember that the word Bel, in a general

sense, was used also of the other gods—*e. g.*, of Šamaš, the sun god; and of Sin, the moon god. Furthermore, Merodach, as the chief tutelary deity of Babylon, was also called Lord—*i. e.*, Bel—of Ezida and other temples. Finally, it is well known what confusion there is in Greek representations of Oriental proper names.

Another objection has been raised—viz., that, according to Herodotus, the temple of Zeus Belos was situated in the *middle* (ἐν μέσῳ) of one part of the town, and the citadel in the middle of another part; but Ezida was in Borsippa. This objection can be met as follows: The citadel of Nebuchadrezar was situated, it is true, not exactly in the middle of the eastern half of the town, but to the north of the same; we are not, however, required to hold Herodotus to exact mathematical statements. After the time of Darius I. the walls of Babylon, and probably those of Borsippa, were demolished. In that case Herodotus could easily have supposed that Babylon and Borsippa formed one town. The western half of Babylon might have had close connection with Borsippa, which lay immediately to the south, so that both localities to a stranger might appear as the western part of the town. If Herodotus had reckoned Borsippa as a part of Babylon, then, in his judgment, the Nebo temple would have been in the western part of the town, since the western half of Babylon proper lay to the north of Ezida; and Borsippa, or at least a great portion of it, lay to the south. This hypothesis furnishes an explanation for the high estimate that Herodotus gives of the circuit of Babylon. Oppert is wrong when he states that Nimitti-Bêl once inclosed Babylon and Borsippa; yet both towns were so near each other that Borsippa served

as the sister town of Babylon. In the vocabulary K. 4309, obv. 24, Borsippa is designated Tin-tir II. kan-ki—*i. e.*, second Babylon.[1] In the Talmud Borsippa is frequently identified with Babel.

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[1] *Cf.* Delitzsch "Wo lag das Paradies?" p. 216.

NOTE.—The ziḳûrat (ziḳḳurratu) or terrace tower is one of the most interesting features in connection with the temples of Babylonia. Every student of the Bible knows how prominently "high places" figured in the worship of the various religious cults of Palestine. The prophet Hosea complains that the Israelites "sacrifice on the top of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills." Inasmuch as Babylonia was devoid of these natural elevations, so common in Palestine, its inhabitants were obliged to imitate them by artificial mounds. Jastrow ("Religion of Babylonia," etc.) is no doubt correct in connecting these earth structures with the primitive superstition which regarded a mountain as the home of the gods. The ziḳûrat was built in imitation of a mountain, and the small room at the top was regarded as the dwelling place of the deity. It is instructive to note in this connection that the temple of Bel at Nippur was called E-Kur—*i. e.*, "mountain house." These solid quadrangular structures were generally three or four stories high, though in more ambitious times there were seven stories, dedicated, so the Babylonians said, to the sun, moon, Ishtar, Marduk, Ninib, Nergal, and Nabu, respectively. As the term ziḳûrat indicates, the purpose was to make the temple conspicuous, and one cannot help recalling here the Biblical account of the building of the tower of Babel. "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven." (Gen. xi. 4.)

HISTORY OF THE EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA.

Semiramis and Nitocris.

Herodotus mentions two queens of Babylonia, Semiramis and Nitocris, whose names he associates with the building of Babylon. Semiramis, he says, ruled over Babylon five generations before Nitocris, and constructed dikes through the plains to prevent the overflowing of the Euphrates. Although this work was very useful, yet Nitocris, the other queen, is spoken of several lines later as the "wiser," *συνετωτέρη*. (I., 185.) Herodotus is the first Greek writer to mention Semiramis. According to Ctesias (Diodorus II., 4 fg.) this queen was the wife of the half-mythical Assyrian king Ninos, the legendary builder of Nineveh. After the death of her husband Semiramis built the city of Babylon, and made numerous expeditions into Asia and Egypt. Ctesias brings out prominently, as the special characteristic of this queen, her exceeding profligacy. Berossus, according to Josephus (c. Apion I., 20), opposes the view of Greek writers who make Semiramis the founder of Babylon. Yet, even in his judgment, she is a historical personage, for he mentions her name after the enumeration of the fifth (the fourth so-called historical) dynasty of the Arabians, which represents nine kings and two hundred and forty-five years. (Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene I., 26).[1]

[1] Post quos annos etiam ipsam Semiramidem in Assyrios dominatam esse tradit.

Strabo speaks in three places of the strongholds and towers, mountain roads and aqueducts, bridges and canals, which Semiramis constructed in Asia. (80, 529, 736.) Lucian attributes the old temples of Syria to Semiramis; Polyænus also, and the Armenian Moses of Chorene mention this half-historical queen. It is remarkable that among the Jewish rabbis she figured as the wife of Nebuchadrezar. Even to-day in Armenia two names recall the memory of this Assyrian heroine: Samiramgert (citadel of Semiramis), Samiramsue (canal of Semiramis).

How far can we recognize a **historical germ** in the legends of Semiramis? We are not quite sure whether Herodotus regarded her as an Assyrian or a Babylonian queen, since, according to I., 184, she might have "ruled over Babylon" from Nineveh. Yet we infer that because Herodotus regarded Nitocris as a Babylonian he would assign the same nationality to Semiramis. The later Greek version, however, regards her as an Assyrian. The statements of Ctesias, that this queen built Babylon, give no evidence as to her date, for the founding of the city dates from the half-historic period before Ḫammurabi. Moreover it is impossible that she should have built Babylon and have been, at the same time, the wife of the founder of Nineveh; for the latter was built by Babylonian colonists many centuries after the founding of the former. The worthlessness of the statements of Ctesias concerning Semiramis finds a suitable illustration in the fact that he attributes the Behistan Inscription of Darius to the work of this queen.

Much more definite is the statement of our historian that Semiramis lived five generations before Nitocris.

Now since the buildings of Nitocris, as we shall show, are to be identified with those of Nebuchadrezar, **therefore Semiramis must have lived about the year 800 B. C.** But has there been found in Assyrian or Babylonian history a queen who corresponds with the statements of Herodotus, and who furnishes the solution of the problems contained in the accounts of the Greek writers? In the cuneiform inscriptions we meet an Assyrian queen, **Sammuramat.** She lived during the reign of King Ramman-nirari III. (812–783), and was either his wife or his mother. One of the most remarkable events of this king's reign was the introduction of the purely Babylonian Nebo cult into Assyria. The inscription on a Nebo statue, prepared by a high Assyrian official, reads: "To him who **dwells at Ezida,** the great lord, his master, has Bel-tarṣi-ilu-ma, the governor of Kalaḫ, etc., erected in the midst of Kalaḫ (this statue), to perpetuate the life of Ramman-nirari, the king of Assyria, his lord, and to perpetuate the life of **Sammuramat, the queen of the palace** (aššat êkalli), his mistress, in order that he may live long,"[1] etc. The government lists show that the Nebo temple at Kalaḫ was begun in the year 789, and was dedicated in 787, the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Ramman-nirari. We know further that the Nebo cult had not hitherto extended into Assyria. This fact, especially when we consider that the women of royal family were not mentioned in the historical documents of the Assyrian kings, compels us to conclude that **Sammuramat,** the mother or wife of the ruling monarch, **was a Babylonian, who possessed such influence as to intro-**

[1] I. R. 35, No. 2, 7–10.

duce the cult of her own home into Assyria. Since Ramman-nirari III., as a genealogical inscription shows, came to the throne in his childhood, we may suppose that Sammuramat was the mother of the king, and administered affairs during his minority. In this way we can explain her remarkable influence. With what energy the Assyrian government was conducted during the minority of the king is shown by the fact that from 812 to 800, the first twelve years of the reign, three expeditions were made against Media, two against Manna (between Media and Armenia), two against the land of the Ḫatti (Hittites), and two against the "west land" (Phœnicia and Palestine). Doubtless the energy of this queen regent was equally manifest in the administration of the internal affairs of the government, as is proved by the introduction of the Nebo cult into Assyria.

The statement of Herodotus that the "queen" contributed to the welfare of her subjects by the construction of dikes corresponds very closely to the picture of Semiramis in the cuneiform documents. A regent who displayed such energy and statesmanship must have lived long in the remembrance of the people. Later centuries not only attribute to this ruler many achievements whose authors were forgotten, but also surround her picture with a wreath of legends. Several of these Semiramis legends, as told by the Greeks, are hard to reconcile with the portrait of the Assyrian ruler. Mythological elements of Semitic origin, as it seems, were united through the free play of poetic fancy with the person of the historical Semiramis.

Ctesias narrates that Semiramis was the daughter of a Syrian and the Derceto who threw herself into the sea

at Ascalon and later was worshiped as a goddess in that locality. (Diodorus II., 4.) Exposed in infancy, Semiramis was miraculously nurtured by the doves of the goddess Derceto. Through her beauty, wisdom, and energy she attained to the Assyrian throne. Her reign was characterized by uninterrupted victorious expeditions as far as India. She built Babylon, its mighty walls, and its citadels; but her sensual nature forms a striking contrast to her warlike disposition. In her later life she was enamored of all beautiful youth, but finally killed those to whom she had been devoted. Her end was as miraculous as her birth and early years: she was metamorphosed, and took her flight to heaven amid a flock of doves.

Max Duncker has shown that Ctesias drew this story from Medo-Persian sources.[1] We cannot, however, accept his hypothesis that the Medo-Persian bards changed the myth of a goddess, who was worshiped in Assyria and whose service flourished in Syria, into a heroine who founded the Assyrian power. Duncker regards the prehistorical references to Semiramis as a later secondary element. But rather is the reverse true; **the historical Semiramis** forms the nucleus of the mythical narrative. Of course, as Duncker says, "the Assyrians served Ishtar-Belit, a female divinity, who was goddess of war as well as goddess of love." Ishtar, the goddess of the planet Venus, has a double character: as goddess of the morning star she is a war goddess, for the morning star calls men to activity and battle; as the evening star she is the goddess of sensual love, for the evening

1 "Geschichte des Altertums," 5 Aufl., Leipzig, 1878, II., p. 13 fg.

star invites men to rest. But we are not sure of any identity between Ishtar and the Assyrian goddess Derceto. Duncker's theory is rendered all the more improbable when we consider that Semiramis occurs in the Old Testament as a masculine proper name. (1 Chron. xv. 18, 20; xvi. 5; 2 Chron. xvii. 8.)

The wonderful events in the childhood of Semiramis find a parallel in various hero legends—*e. g.*, Cyrus, Romulus and Remus. Bauer has shown from Roman, German, Persian, and Indian analogies that it is customary in the legends of renowned monarchs, particularly founders of new dynasties, to represent them as having enjoyed from childhood especial divine favor. Furthermore, the statements about the excesses of this Assyrian queen can be explained by the desire of the poet to exaggerate her weaknesses.

The following historical facts are assured: (1) That there was an Assyrian ruler by the name of Semiramis; (2) that she played a conspicuous part in political affairs; (3) that the date given to this queen by Herodotus is confirmed by the cuneiform records. Therefore we can conclude that the foundation for the legends of Semiramis is that **historical personage** called Sammuramat in the cuneiform inscriptions. The successes which were gained in Media in the time of Ramman-nirari III. easily explain why the later Greeks attributed to Semiramis the great works of the Median monarchs, the building of the citadel in Ecbatana, and even the Behistan Inscription. In this great Assyrian queen the Median poets saw a worthy object of glorification. From the Medes and Persians these descriptions reached the Greeks, and Semiramis then became the **half-historical, half-mythical portrait**

of all the legendary fortunes, habits, and achievements of the Assyro-Babylonian rulers, from Sargon I. and Hammurabi to the fall of Babylon.

The **second** "Babylonian" queen whom Herodotus mentions is **Nitocris.** He attributes to her three works: The windings of the Euphrates at Arderikka, the great basin above Babylon for the reception of the water of the Euphrates (probably the Basin of Sippara), and the building at Babylon of a bridge over the Euphrates. The husband and the son of Nitocris are both called Labynetos by Herodotus. It was in the reign of the younger Labynetos that Babylon fell at the hands of Cyrus.

Herodotus gives the reason for the construction of the works at Arderikka as follows: "Because she (Nitocris) saw how formidable the power of the Medes had grown, and how they were never at peace, but had conquered Ninos, with many other towns, she took every precaution to defend herself against them." (I., 185.) From the time of Nebuchadrezar the growing might of the Medes was a source of apprehension to the Babylonians. That king constructed fortifications, especially the new east wall, to meet this threatening danger.

The cuneiform records show that the basin at Sippara was begun in the reign of Nebuchadrezar. (E. I. H., VI., 39–46.) The building of the bridge across the Euphrates was probably necessitated by the magnitude and importance of Babylon at this same period. The western portion of the town needed a better connection with the eastern portion; besides, the traffic over the Euphrates was especially great at the festival held

in honor of the god Nebo at Borsippa.[1] All these facts point to the hypothesis **that by Nitocris we must understand Nebuchadrezar.**[2] The **difficulties** which meet this supposition ought not to be overlooked. Nitocris is the mother of Labynetos the younger, in whose reign Cyrus destroyed Babylon. It is universally admitted that this Labynetos is identical with the Nabû-na'id (Nabonidus) of the inscriptions; but the father of this Nabû-na'id is not called Nabû-na'id, as we should infer from Herodotus, but Nabû-balaṭsu-iḳbi. We do not know the name of the wife of this Nabû-balaṭsu-iḳbi. According to Herodotus her name appears as Nitocris. Nabû-balaṭsu-iḳbi was never king, but only a Babylonian officer (Rab-mag); so we are confronted by the new question how Herodotus could call his wife a queen. Among the predecessors of Nabû-na'id, up to Nebuchadrezar, there is no one whose name is compounded with Nabu. The list reads: Nebuchadrezar, Evil-Merodach, Neriglissar, Labasi-Marduk, Nabû-na'id. Consequently Herodotus received false statements from his voucher. This can be explained by the fact that the voucher was a Persian, and that the history of the Babylonian kings who followed Nebuchadrezar was very complicated, owing to continual revolutions and to repeated changes in rulers.

The Persian voucher named only the two prominent

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[1] Sargon II., 722–705, had connected Babylon and Borsippa by a new canal, which should serve as a festal way for Nebo.

[2] Tiele ("Babylonish-Assyrische Geschichte," I., p. 454) says that the Nitocris of Herodotus, whose works must be ascribed to Nebuchadrezar, owes her origin solely to a blunder. Duncker (II., 545) believes that by Nitocris Herodotus meant Amytis, the wife of Nebuchadrezar.

monarchs of that epoch: Nebuchadrezar (presumably under the name Nabû-na'id) and the real Nabû-na'id. In this way we can most easily explain the fact that Herodotus causes a Labynetos to follow that Labynetos in whose reign the great buildings were constructed. It is harder to understand how Herodotus could have given to the wife of Nebuchadrezar, who was called Amytis and was a Mede, the name Nitocris, and have ascribed to her such great buildings. Is Nitocris a corruption of Nabû-kudurri-uṣur (Nebuchadrezar)? In that case the two names Labynetos and Nitocris have a common origin. Nikel regards the situation as follows: Nebuchadrezar's wife exercised a great influence during the reign of her husband. The marriage with the daughter of the Median king was a political event of great importance. It was to please Amytis that Nebuchadrezar, as Berossus relates, built the "hanging gardens." The memory of that influential queen must have lived among the people as did the name of Nebuchadrezar, whose reign lasted forty-three years. While the name of the great king recalled important political events, the name of the queen was associated with those great buildings in whose construction she had taken so prominent a part. Hence we may suppose that the voucher of Herodotus, relying on popular tradition, associated a queen with the erection of the great works of Babylon. The name Nitocris, which does not seem to be of Semitic origin, may be the result of a corruption. Although the etymology of the first part of the word (Nito=Nabû?) is doubtful, yet the third syllable *cris* may be the mutilation of the second and third members of the compound Nabû-kudurri-uṣur (Nebuchadrezar), since in making foreign

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names unfamiliar the Greeks were conspicuous.[1] It must be considered very remarkable if, at the time of Herodotus (about 450), the name of Nebuchadrezar, as the builder of such mighty works, had vanished from the memory of the Persians dwelling in Babylon. Hence, in the name **Nitocris, there may be preserved a recollection of that great king who made Babylon splendid.**[2]

The Duration of the Assyrian Power in Western Asia.

Although Herodotus reserves the discussion of Assyrian history for his work on that subject, yet we find in the first book of his History an account of the beginning and the duration of the Assyrian power: "Five hundred and twenty years the Assyrians ruled Upper Asia. The first to revolt from them were the Medes, . . . after them the other peoples did likewise, and all the tribes of Asia became free and independent; but not for long, since they fell again under a despotic government." (I., 96.) Herodotus goes on to narrate the history of Deïoces, who first united the Median tribes into a confederation (I., 101), and through whose successor the peoples who had just

[1] The theory of Tiele (I., 423) that, besides Amytis, Nebuchadrezar might have had an Egyptian wife, Neit-aker (Nitocris), lacks historical support.

[2] The change in the dynasties may have occasioned the omission of Nebuchadrezar by Herodotus. In marked contrast the book of Daniel represents Nebuchadrezar as proudly boasting: "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the royal dwelling place by the might of my power, and for the glory of my majesty?" (Dan. iv. 30.)

become free from Assyrian bondage were brought again under despotic rule. (I., 96.)

It is our task to determine **at what date Herodotus places the revolt of the Medes,** and how far **his figures concerning the Assyrian sovereignty in Western Asia (five hundred and twenty years) agree with the cuneiform documents.**

According to the view of Herodotus the revolt of the Medes from Assyrian dominion occurred before the union of the Median races through Deïoces. Since our historian places the reign of this king somewhere within the period 699 to 646, the Assyrian power in Western Asia must have ended in the second half of the eighth century. Inscriptions point to the contrary, for during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III.[1] (745–727) the power of Assyria again became secure. Under this victorious king the empire extended from the Persian Gulf on the southeast to the Mediterranean on the northwest, and from Media and Armenia on the northeast to Egypt on the southwest. Tiglath-Pileser was the first Assyrian king who entered Palestine. Twice he pressed victorious into Armenia. He led his troops into the extreme confines of Elam, as far as Parsua, and added a great part of Media to the Assyrian power. He conquered the land Hatti (North Syria), and finally, after a successful expedition against Babylonia, received religious sanction as king of Babylon. Among his successors Sargon II. (722–705) is the only one who deserves to be compared with him in military achievement. This usurper, after

[1] By another reckoning this Tiglath-Pileser is the second of his name among the Assyrian kings—*e. g.*, in Tiele.

the conquest of Samaria, made the kingdom of Israel an Assyrian province. He conquered the king of Hamath and his allied towns, Arpad, Simyra, and Damascus. He took the king of Gaza prisoner, conquered the king of the old Hittite town Carchemish, overpowered the Philistine towns Ashdod and Gath, subdued the Elamite borders, and finally, by the expulsion of the Babylonian king Merodach-Baladan II., reached the zenith of his power. In the Northeast and East he not only protected but extended the boundaries of the empire. It is historically certain that at the end of the eighth century B. C. the Assyrian power reached its greatest extent.

How, then, can we explain the statement of Herodotus that toward the end of the eighth century the Medes, and afterwards the other nations, threw off the Assyrian yoke? Our historian, as we have shown, obtained his information from Persian and Median sources. Moreover, it is quite probable that the Medes, who in the course of the seventh century gained their independence, and in 606 destroyed Nineveh, date the beginning of their freedom from that period in which they fought their first battles to recover political independence. This period is not clearly indicated in Assyrian sources, for the cuneiform inscriptions emphasize rather the positive results of Assyrian expeditions, while the Medes carefully handed down the tradition of the more or less successful course of their own battles. The records of such contests, though carefully preserved by the Medes, appear in the Assyrian documents only when an Assyrian king took the field against the rebels and considered his own achievements worth mentioning.

It is now certain that the border districts of the Assyrian empire were always inclined to revolt, and were not intimidated by failure. The Median boundaries were on the extreme east of the empire, and Media is continually designated as "far distant" (*Mat* Mada-a-a rû-ḳû-ti). From the reports about the Median expeditions of Shalmaneser II. (859-825), Ramman-nirari III. (811–783), Tiglath-Pileser III. (745–727), Sargon II. (722–705), and Sennacherib (705–681), we learn that the Median tribes were always in a state of rebellion, and that scarcely a decade passed without an Assyrian invasion of Media.

The first Assyrian king who subdued certain Median races—*e. g.*, the Amada-a—was Shalmaneser II. (859–825), and after his reign the Medes waged unbroken war against the Assyrians. This continual resistance to foreign intrusion may have contributed to a closer union of the scattered tribes. The Median tradition about the heroic battles for freedom would of course sound entirely different from the Assyrian accounts of the same. If Herodotus derived his statements about Assyrian history chiefly from Medo-Persian sources, we can understand why he puts the beginning of Median independence in the second half of the eighth century, although that period represents nothing but a series of struggles for independence which were finally crowned with success.[1]

It remains to enquire how Herodotus arrives at the five hundred and twenty years of Assyrian sovereignty? If we go back five hundred and twenty years from the year 750, we reach the year 1270 B. C.—*i. e.*, the

[1] Sargon II. (722–705) pressed farther into Media than any other Assyrian monarch.

time immediately after Tiklat-Adar I., who reigned about 1300 and brought the whole of Babylonia under Assyrian power; but Herodotus could not have meant this period, for in 1210 we see Assyria and Babylon again in violent contest.

It was Tiglath-Pileser I. (1120–1100 B. C.) who led the Assyrian hosts everywhere victorious, and achieved magnificent results. This king could boast that he had brought under his power forty-two lands in the region extending from the districts beyond the lower Zab on the east and northeast to the land of the Ḫatti (Hittites) and to the "upper sea" on the west.

If we reckon forward five hundred and twenty years from 1120, we come to the year 600, the time of the great catastrophe which shattered the Assyrian power (606). It might seem, then, that the interval between Tiglath-Pileser I. and the Fall of Nineveh (1126–606 = 520 years) must be the epoch of Assyrian rule over Asia which Herodotus mentions. But, according to our historian, the end of Assyrian supremacy in Western Asia is not coincident with the fall of Nineveh; rather there follows upon the revolt of the Medes and other nations the subjugation of the newly liberated tribes by the Median Phraortes. But Nineveh fell, as Herodotus rightly states, in the time of Cyaxares, the successor of Phraortes. Therefore the series of events, according to I., 95–106, is as follows: (1) The revolt of the Medes from the Assyrian empire; (2) the revolt of the other conquered nations (end of the Assyrian power in Western Asia); (3) subjugation by the Median king, Phraortes, of the Persians and the other tribes which had revolted from Assyria; (4) siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares (inter-

rupted by the Scythian invasion); (5) victory of the Scythians over the Medes; (6) destruction of the Scythians by Cyaxares; (7) conquest of Nineveh by the Medes. Since this table shows that the Assyrian power in Western Asia reached its end many years before the fall of Nineveh, we cannot regard this last event as the *terminus ad quem* for the five hundred and twenty years. But in the period before 1126 there was no important event by which the Assyrian dominion could have been established over any considerable part of Western Asia. The statement of Herodotus (I., 96), that the Assyrians ruled "Upper Asia" five hundred and twenty years, must therefore be considered inaccurate.

But in order to ascertain how Herodotus reached this estimate let us compare the corresponding accounts of the other Greek writers. Ctesias, who mentions the duration of the reigns of Ninos and Semiramis, names also in his lost work the successors of Ninos from Ninyas to Ashurbanipal; Diodorus, his compiler, however, records only the fall of the Assyrian empire under Sardanapalos (Ashurbanipal), after an existence of more than thirteen hundred years. The sources on which Ctesias relied appear, therefore, to be entirely independent of those which Herodotus used.

Berossus enumerates as follows the several dynasties which ruled Babylon: (*a*) Dynasty of the Medes (2458–2224 B. C.); (*b*) dynasty of the Elamites (2224–1976); (*c*) dynasty of the Chaldeans (1976–1518); (*d*) dynasty of the Arabians (1518–1273). The next ruler mentioned is Semiramis, who in turn is followed by a dynasty of forty-five kings, who ruled

for five hundred and twenty-six years.[1] Here then is mentioned an epoch of Assyro-Babylonian history which lasted five hundred and twenty-six years and dated from the year 1273. This period is about the same as that which Herodotus gives for the Assyrian sovereignty over Western Asia. Accordingly we may conjecture a close correspondence between the sources of Herodotus and those of Berossus. From Berossus were derived the statements of Alexander Polyhistor preserved by Eusebius. But it is somewhat remarkable that there exists such a great discrepancy regarding the date of Semiramis. Alexander Polyhistor places her in the thirteenth century, but Herodotus at the end of the eighth century. Doubtless the views of Alexander Polyhistor concerning Semiramis were influenced by the fabulous accounts of the earlier Greek writers, while his chronological statements were based on Berossus.

The Founding and Duration of the Median Empire.

According to Herodotus, the Median races, until the middle of the eighth century B. C., were subject to the Assyrians. After they had gained their independence the Median tribes, which were formerly separated, began to unite. The first chief of the united Medes was Deïoces (699–646). To him Herodotus ascribes the building of Ecbatana. Deïoces' son, Phraortes (646–624), extended the empire, subdued the Persians and

[1] Post quos annos etiam ipsam Semiramidem in Assyrios dominatam esse tradit. Atque iterum minute enumerat nomina regum XLV. adsignans illis annos DXXVI. (Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene, I., 26.)

the neighboring tribes, and attacked the Assyrians who dwelt at Nineveh; but he fell in battle, with the loss of most of his army. His son, Cyaxares (624–584), succeeded him. He waged war with the Lydians, and extended his power on the northwest as far as the river Halys. To avenge his father he marched against Nineveh. Scarcely had he laid siege to the town when the Scythians, under their king, Madyes, fell upon the Median kingdom, and in a battle the Medes were defeated and "their supremacy over Asia was lost." The Scythians ruled over Western Asia for twenty-eight years, but were treacherously robbed of their power in the following manner. Cyaxares invited them to a banquet, and, when they were drunk, the Medes fell upon them and slew them. In this way the Medes recovered their former power, and conquered the Assyrian empire, with the exception of Babylonia. After the death of Cyaxares, his "son," Astyages, came to the throne. On the advice of the Magi, he gave his daughter, Mandane, in marriage to a Persian. Of this union was born Cyrus, who freed the Persians from the power of the Medes, conquered Media and Lydia, and finally brought to an end the Babylonian empire. These are, in brief, the statements of Herodotus concerning the history of the Median kingdom, which is said to have existed, in all, one hundred and twenty-eight years. (I., 99–131.) The Assyrian inscriptions make it possible, in part, to confirm the record of Herodotus, but in several essential points to correct and supplement it. Let us review briefly the **founding of the Median empire** and **its history up to the Scythian invasion.**

Media is called in the Assyrian documents *Mat* **Ma-da-a-a** (in Ramman-nirari III., Tiglath-Pileser III.,

Sargon II., Sennacherib, and Esar-haddon). Therefore this must have been the **common name for Media** among the Assyrians. Only once are the Medes called A-ma-da-a-a[1]—viz., in Shalmaneser II., who, as far as our knowledge goes, **first** made an expedition into the Median territory. The word **Manda** (umman-manda), which several scholars consider the later name of "the Medes of every race,"[2] designates those warlike hordes—*e. g.*, the Cimmerians and the Scythians—which, after the time of Esar-haddon, forced their way from the north into the Assyrian and Median countries. Originally Madâ (Mada-a) was the designation among the Assyrians for a **particular** Median tribe, as were the names, Ellipi, Ḫarḫar Ḫubuškia, Patušarra, Partakka, etc.

In **descent** the Medes did not belong to the **Semitic** race. That an **Aryan** population dwelt **formerly** in Media is also without proof. On the ground of recent research we may to-day conclude that a population related to the Elamites and Kossæans first inhabited that district. Not until the time of the Sargonidæ did the influx of **Aryan** races into Media begin. **Iranian** names are first found in the time of Esar-haddon —*e. g.*, Siṭirparna, Êparna, Ramatêja, and Urakazabarna.

The first Assyrian king who pressed victoriously into Median territory was Shalmaneser II. (859–825), who boasts that, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, he crossed the lower Zab and subdued the lands Hašmar, Namri, Parsua, the country of the Amadâ

[1] Tiele, "Babylonish-Assyrische Geschichte," I., 334.
[2] Shalmaneser II., Obelisk, 121.

(Medes), as well as the lands Araziaš and Ḫarḫar.[1] The statement of this ruler that twenty-seven kings of Parsua brought him tribute indicates the political condition in those localities. The land was divided into small districts, in which petty chieftains ruled independently. Whether the rulers of Parsua were really tributary, or whether they purchased favor for their country through freewill gifts, is hard to determine. Naturally these gifts were regarded as real tribute (ma-da-tu) by the Assyrian king.

This first subjugation of Median races was of short duration, for in the years 829 and 828 the general of Shalmaneser was compelled to march into their territory to intimidate the rebels. Likewise Shalmaneser's successor, Shamshi-rammân III. (825–812), led his forces to the northeastern and eastern boundaries of his empire. He advanced to the country of the Sunbæans, the Manæans, the Parsuæans, the Taurlæans, the Misæans, to the lands Gizilbunda and Araziaš as well as to the country of the Matæans (*Mât* Ma-ta-a-a[2]).

We may believe that by *Mât* Ma-ta-a-a, "country of the Matæans," is meant a Median territory, and that Ma-ta-a-a is simply an unusual spelling for Ma-da-a-a. Shamshi-rammân III. was succeeded by Rammân-nirâri III. (812–783), in whose reign repeated expeditions were made against Ellipi, Ḫarḫar, Araziaš, Mesu, the country of the Madâ, Gizilbunda, Manna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadana, Naïri.[3] Several of these lands are surely Median. In the reign of the three follow-

[1] Shalmaneser II., Obelisk, 110–126.

[2] Shamshi-rammân III., Col. II., 34–III., 44.

[3] Inscription from Kalaḫ, I. R., 35, No. 1, l. 6–9.

ing kings Median expeditions are not mentioned. The mighty conqueror, Tiglath-Pileser III. (745–727), marched against the eastern border provinces in order to reëstablish the Assyrian power. From a short statement in the inscription from Nimrud (l. 19) we learn that the Median people were defeated at the Biknî mountains, and were made tributary. The Median races dwelling to the east of them were assailed by the Assyrian general Ashur-daninani, but their lands were not incorporated in the Assyrian empire. It is remarkable that the Medes, in a passage in this document, which unfortunately is mutilated, are designated "**Mighty**" (dannûti[1]). Although this word does not conclusively prove a **political union of all Median races,** yet it implies that the Medes, contiguous to the Assyrian territory, made a greater resistance to the Assyrians than formerly. This, at least, points to **the beginning of a confederation of the Median races that had before been separated,** a confederation forced by the need of a stronger defense against a common foe.

Tiglath-Pileser's successor, Shalmaneser IV. (727–722), appears to have waged war only in the west of the empire—in Phœnicia and Palestine. Sargon II. (722–705) devoted his attention to making secure the eastern boundaries. In the year 716 a revolution broke out in the east of the empire, at the head of which was Rusâ, the chief of Urardhi, and in which the provinces Karalla and Man took a prominent part. Several neighboring districts, especially those of West Media, also took part in the insurrection. Sargon quickly

[1] Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser from Nimrud, l. 42.

suppressed the movement. He entered Media, conquered the town Ḫarḫar, fortified it, and changed its name to Kar-Sharrukîn (city of Sargon). More than twenty Median governors were subdued, but further trouble began in the following year (715). A three years' war (715–713) ensued; Kar-Sharrukîn revolted, and had to be reconquered. Twenty-two Median governors gave allegiance to Sargon. In the account of this expedition, it is interesting to note that we meet with the name **Daiukku**. This person, who was evidently a governor of a part of Man, was taken prisoner and exiled to Hamath. We meet this name a second time in the accounts of the expedition of the year 713, where it is stated that Sargon marched against Ellipi, Bît-Daiukki, and Karalla. In the year 708 an Assyrian army again entered West Media. A strife for the throne had arisen in Ellipi which was settled in favor of the pretender (Ishpabara) by the invasion of the Assyrians. The war records show that no other **Assyrian king penetrated so far into Media as Sargon.** Whether all the Median people who brought gifts to the Assyrian king through their chiefs were really regarded as subjects of Assyria is very doubtful. As long as they brought tribute and remained quiet Sargon did not trouble them. Only Parsua and Ḫarḫar are known to have been put under Assyrian dominion.

How do the accounts in the cuneiform texts of Sargon correspond to the statements of Herodotus? We can scarcely find a direct contradiction. Herodotus says that toward the end of the eighth century (consequently sometime during the reign of Sargon) occurred the "revolt of the Medes," and immediately after this the union of the Median races through Deïoces.

From the cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon we learn that during his reign only a portion, presumably the smaller portion, of the Median country was subject to the Assyrians, and that the few races paying tribute either felt themselves practically independent or made repeated attempts to throw off the Assyrian yoke. It was at this time that the power of Assyria over Media was at its zenith. Immediately after the death of Sargon the influence of Ashur in Media began to wane as the desire for freedom increased within the tributary provinces. The accounts of Herodotus, which declare that the Medes revolted from the Assyrians at the close of the eighth century, correspond to the cuneiform records.

At that time the desire for unity had made headway among the Medes. This explains why the name Madâ, in the Sargon texts, is used in a broader sense than in the older texts—*e. g.*, we are told that Kar-Sharrukîn was fortified "for the subjugation of Media" (ana šuknuš *mât* Madâ[1]). Several lines later Sargon speaks of other races, whom he also calls Medes—*e. g.*, the "Medes on the border of the Aribi of the East" (Madâ ša pâti *amêl* Aribi nipiḫ šamši, l. 69). Furthermore, Ellipi, which was formerly spoken of as near to the land of the Madâ, is in another place called a part of Media—*e. g.*, "Ba'-it-ili, a district of the Medes in Ellipi"[2] (Ba-'-it-ili na-gu-u ša Ma-da-a-a ša mê-ṣir El-li-bi). In the same place mention is made of a people called Mandâ where the

[1] Sargon, l. 65.
[2] Annals, 159 fg.

context clearly shows them to be an entirely **different nation from the Medes.**

We have observed that the name Daiukku occurs twice in the Sargon texts. What is the relation between Daiukku and the Deïoces of Herodotus? The first individual of this name was probably a governor of a part of the province Man, and took part in the insurrection of 715. Whether he was in the Assyrian service, or was tributary to the Assyrian monarch, is doubtful. He was sent by Sargon to Hamath, presumably as an exile. **This Daiukku is in no wise the Deïoces of Herodotus,** since he was not a Mede, but a Mannæan, and dwelt after 715 at Hamath in Syria. The chronological difficulties forbid the supposition that he was later pardoned and after his return found opportunity to work for the union of the Medes; for a man who was banished while governor of a province in 715 could not later have ruled in Media fifty-three years. (699–646).

The second time we meet the name Daiukku is in the phrase Bît-Da-ai-uk-ki (**house of Daiukku**). This is the name of a locality which Sargon, in the ninth year of his reign (713), entered with his army. Since Bît-Daiukki is between Ellipi and Karalla, we may believe with Winckler that **this region is Median.** The name implies a prominent Median chief, who made Bît-Daiukki the center of his political activity. Therefore we conclude that Daiukku (Deïoces), the leader of a Median tribe, did not unite all the Medes at once, but through the formation of a **well-organized hegemony** as a basis of unification, he laid the foundation of the Median power. If our supposition is correct, Bît-

Daiukki ought not to be identified with the town Ecbatana, but with the district in which this town was situated. Furthermore the geographical situation of Bît-Daiukki, which lay between Ellipi and Karalla, makes this probable. Before it became the capital of the great Median empire Ecbatana was doubtless the political center of that Median tribe which attained supremacy in Media through the efforts of its chief. Whether the chief after whom Bît-Daiukki was named lived in the time of Sargon, or at an earlier epoch, is doubtful. If he lived at an earlier epoch, then the Deïoces of Herodotus must be regarded as an **eponymous hero** of the Median dynasty.

Scarcely had **Sargon II.** fallen at the assassin's hands before insurrections broke out in many provinces. Ellipi, where Sargon had appointed a native chief as ruler, revolted. **Sennacherib** boasts that he reconquered Ellipi and subdued a number of remote Median chiefs, of whose lands none of his ancestors had ever heard. Judging from the characteristic speech of Sennacherib, we conclude that this "subjugation" was simply the freewill offering of gifts to avert devastation similar to that which had befallen Ellipi.

Under **Esar-haddon** (681–668) the cloud of destruction arising in the North began to break over Assyria. In the year 678 the Cimmerians,[1] forced by the pressure of the Scythians, invaded the Assyrian empire under their king, Teušpâ. A battle took place, in which other enemies of Assyria, including the Medes, joined,

[1] In the cuneiform inscriptions they are called Gimmirâ, whom Esar-haddon designates "people dwelling far away." (Esar., II., 7.)

the result of which was favorable to the Assyrians.[1] In two hymns to the sun god (Sm. 2005, K. 2668) Kashtariti and Mamitiarshi, two Median governors, are mentioned among the allies of the Cimmerians. It is generally admitted that this Kashtariti has no connection with the Cyaxares of Herodotus.[2]

Esar-haddon's success induced him to press into those regions from which the Cimmerians had come. He reached certain Median tribes, whose chiefs, to judge from their names (Siṭirparna and Êparna) were of Aryan descent. Furthermore the name of the chief, Ramatêja, as well as that of his country (Urakazabarna), is plainly Aryan.

The danger which had threatened the Assyrian empire under Esar-haddon increased in the time of his successor, **Ashurbanipal** (668–626). The Cimmerians retired to Asia Minor, but the Sacian Scythians poured into Western Asia from the east and northeast. The Medes pressed in and laid waste the land, overflowing Armenia, Assyria, Syria, and Palestine as far as the borders of Egypt. It was this horde which the prophet Jeremiah (v. 15, fg.) describes in such vivid words. The Scythian inroad threw the Assyrian kingdom into great excitement, and in all the provinces was aroused a desire for freedom. It is remarkable that in the numerous texts of Ashurbanipal Media is **only once** mentioned. Cylinder B. Col. III., 102–IV., 14 shows that in the year 655 a certain Birishadri, governor of Mat-a-a (according to many Assyriologists=Media), with two other leaders, governors of

[1] Babyl. Chron., IV., 2.

[2] For opposite view *cf.* Sayce, Hdt., I., 98, note.

Saḫi [Sacians?], revolted, and that seventy-five towns of Birishadri were conquered and pillaged by the Assyrians. The fact that this Median chief (if Mat-a-a is Media) had authority over seventy-five towns points to an **advanced political union** of the Medes. Since Ashurbanipal was more needed in other parts of his great empire than in the northeast, the opportunity was most favorable for the Medes to obtain their independence. And if some decades later in spite of their previous losses at the hands of the Scythians, they were in a condition to destroy the Assyrian power, we must believe that **during the reign of Ashurbanipal** the political union of the Median tribes was perfected. In the last two decades of the reign of Ashurbanipal **Herodotus also puts the founding of the Median power** under Phraortes (646–624).

The name of the Median king, Phraortes, the predecessor of Cyaxares, has not yet been found in any cuneiform text. We may explain this fact by the events which happened in the reign of Ashurbanipal. If this monarch was prevented from waging war in the east by trouble in the other provinces of his kingdom, and especially in Babylon, he would have no exploits to record in Media and in other eastern provinces. We need not suppose, as Winckler does, that Phraortes is an unhistorical character.

Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes according to Herodotus, is called, in the Behistan inscription, a legitimate Median king. Says Darius the king: "There was a man Fravartish by name, a Mede; he rose up in Media: thus he said to the people: 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Uvakhshtra' (Cyaxares). Afterwards the Median state, which was in clans, became

rebellious to me. It went over to that Fravartish; he became king in Media." (Behistan, II., 5.) Winckler argues that if the father of Cyaxares (Uvakhshtra) was really called Phraortes, as Herodotus says, and if that pretender of whom Darius speaks had originally the name Fravartish (Phraortes), then we cannot explain his desire to change this name, since he already bore that of one of the early kings of Media, a circumstance most surely in his favor. We may reply that the pretender had to take the name of a well-known descendant, a grandson or great-grandson of Cyaxares. Doubtless a grandson of this king was called Khshathrita, and this name was taken by Fravartish. He was presumably a member of the early Median royal house, and the **Phraortes of Herodotus was one of his ancestors,** for it was the custom to give the children the name of a grandfather or great-grandfather. The Behistan inscription does not deny, but rather confirms, the correctness of the statement of our historian.

It is a significant fact that the usurper, Fravartish, calls himself a descendant of Cyaxares. Consequently Cyaxares must have been the **last** representative of the **national** kingdom of Media. For if Astyages, who was conquered and dethroned by Cyrus, had been the son of Cyaxares, the pretender would have called himself the son of Astyages. Therefore we must believe that Astyages was not the last legitimate king of Media, but belonged to that people who had conquered it —*i. e.*, the Umman-manda (Scythians). Furthermore the cuneiform inscriptions call Astyages, **"King of the Scythians"**—*i. e.*, Šar *amēl* umman-manda (compare the great Nabû-na'id cylinder of Abû-habba, Col. I., 32).

Accordingly Herodotus has erroneously represented Astyages as the son of his predecessor, Cyaxares.

Sennacherib's Expedition against Egypt.

In his presentation of Egyptian history Herodotus mentions an expedition of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib, against Egypt. The Assyrian monarch is called "Sennacherib, the king of the Arabians and Assyrians." (II., 141.) According to Herodotus, a strange occurrence compelled the army of Sennacherib to withdraw in the midst of the siege of Pelusium. In the night mice invaded the Assyrian camp and gnawed the quivers and bows and the handles of the shields, so that the soldiers fled in terror on the following day. If Sennacherib was really forced to return, we should not expect the full truth in his report. The Assyrian king speaks of his expedition against Egypt, but he so covers up his misfortune that it is only with the help of the Biblical record (2 Kings xviii. 13–xix. 36) that we can explain the difference between Herodotus and the statements of the inscriptions. In the Taylor cylinder (Col. II., 34 fg.) we are told that an Egyptian army hastening to aid the Philistine towns met at Eltekeh (South of Ekron) the Assyrian king, who in the year 701 had invaded Palestine from the North. Sennacherib "conquered" the Egyptians and took several of their chiefs prisoners. We know, however, that, in spite of his victory, he did not trouble the Egyptians further, but turned against King Hezekiah, of Judah, and by the distribution of his army at Jerusalem shut him in as "a bird in a cage."

Hezekiah defended himself with valor, since he was encouraged by the burning words of Isaiah. Influ-

enced probably by the report that a new Egyptian army was approaching, Sennacherib pressed the king of Judah to surrender Jerusalem, but Hezekiah trusted in Jehovah and was not disappointed. A pestilence (2 Kings xix. 35) spread such devastation in the Assyrian army that Sennacherib had to return to Assyria. Of course no mention is made of this in the records of the Assyrian monarch. The king boasts that he had forced Hezekiah, through the siege of Jerusalem, to pay tribute; but this is a perversion of fact, since, according to the Biblical account, which sounds entirely impartial, Hezekiah (as well as his predecessor Ahaz) had paid tribute before the siege of Jerusalem. The statement of Herodotus furnishes us confirmation of the Bible record as well as a correction of the cuneiform account. The hasty withdrawal of the Assyrian troops from Egypt after the battle at Eltekeh, the unexpected raising of the siege of Jerusalem, and the speedy return of Sennacherib to Assyria—all this was enough to give rise to the legendary narratives of which Herodotus furnishes us a proof.[1]

The Fall of Nineveh.

We possess no certain records concerning the fall of Nineveh, which must have been one of the greatest catastrophes of ancient history. Cuneiform accounts are entirely wanting. Herodotus simply states (I., 106) that the Medes, after they had thrown off the yoke of Scythian dominion, marched against Ninos under the leadership of Cyaxares, conquered it, and subdued As-

[1] Reference is frequently made to 1 Samuel vi. 4, 5, to show that the mouse was a symbol for pestilence in the East.

syria, except Babylon and its vicinity. Herodotus promises to give us a further account in his Assyrian history. The other Greek writers bring contradictory reports. According to Berossus, Astyages was that Median king who conquered Nineveh with the aid of the Babylonians. According to Abydenos, the Babylonian king Busalossaros (Nabopolassar) marched alone against Nineveh. Alexander Polyhistor calls the last Assyrian king Sarakos (Sin-šar-iškun). Ctesias calls him Sardanapalos (Ashurbanipal). The Median king who participated in the conquest of Nineveh is called by Ctesias Arbaces, the Babylonian Belesys. (Diodorus, II., 24 fg.). Herodotus states that Phraortes attacked the Assyrians, which attack falls in the first year after the death of Ashurbanipal—*i. e.*, 625 B. C. Phraortes was slain in this battle (624). The statement of some Greek writers that Sardanapalos (Ashurbanipal) lived to see the fall of Nineveh (606 B. C.), and then threw himself into the flames of the burning palace, is untrue. Ashurbanipal was not the last, but the last prominent king of the Assyrians. The weakness which seems to have characterized his successors would be imputed by later writers to Ashurbanipal himself.

Herodotus further states that Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, in order to avenge his father, made a new expedition against Assyria, and besieged Nineveh. The inroad of the Scythians forced him to raise the siege. All this is neither affirmed nor denied by the cuneiform inscriptions, but it seems propable when we remember the confusion in the Assyrian empire.

According to Herodotus the Scythians ruled in Western Asia twenty-eight years. After Cyaxares had

broken their power he reëstablished the sovereignty of the Medes, and finally destroyed Ninos. The twenty-eight years of Scythian power do not refer exclusively to the time in which the Medes were under the yoke of the Scythians, for Nineveh fell eighteen years after the accession of Cyaxares to the throne (624—18 = 606). The Medes must have made strong resistance to the Scythians more than once.[1] Cyaxares attacked the Assyrian empire when it was shaken by the inroad of these Scythians. The Medes appeared before the gates of Nineveh and conquered the town. It may be true that the Babylonians, whose king, Nabopolassar, had procured for his son the hand of the daughter of the Median king, aided the Medes in this siege. Berossus mentions this, but Herodotus does not. Herodotus correctly states that Cyaxares conquered Nineveh, while Berossus and his excerptists refer this conquest to Astyages. Astyages ascended the throne of Media in the year 584, but Nineveh was destroyed about 606. The Assyrian king in whose reign the capital of Assyria fell is called in the inscriptions Sin-šar-iškun, the Sarakos of Alexander Polyhistor.

The Genealogy and the National Descent of Cyrus.

After the fall of Nineveh the Lydians, Medes, and Babylonians became the most powerful nations in Western Asia. These three kingdoms were destroyed by the Persian, Cyrus, the king of Anshan, who founded the Persian power.

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[1] There was no general destruction of the Scythians, since invading hordes, whose leader was Astyages, finally overthrew the national Median dynasty.

The cuneiform inscriptions throw light upon the descent of Cyrus, and his relation to the Median kingdom. The statements of the Greek writers respecting his genealogy are explained by comparison with Babylonian and Persian sources. According to Herodotus (I., 107), the Persian Cambyses is called the father of Cyrus the Great. Diodorus and Xenophon agree with Herodotus. Later (VII., 11) Herodotus enumerates the ancestors of Xerxes as follows: (1) Achæmenes; (2) Teïspes; (3) Cambyses; (4) Cyrus; (5) Teïspes; (6) Ariaramnes; (7) Arsames; (8) Hystaspes; (9) Darius; (10) Xerxes.

Darius himself gives his own ancestors in two places in the Behistan inscription. (Bh., I., 2; Bh., a.) The list reads: (1) Achæmenes; (2) Teïspes; (3) Ariaramnes; (4) Arsames; (5) Hystaspes; (6) Darius.

When we compare these two genealogies we find that in the Behistan inscription Teïspes immediately follows the eponymous hero Achæmenes, but in Herodotus there are inserted three names—Teïspes, Cambyses, Cyrus. Furthermore Darius, after the enumeration of his ancestors, goes on to declare (Bh. I. 3, 4): "Thus says Darius the king: 'For this reason we are called Achæmenidæ; from long ago we have been tested. From long ago our family were kings.' Thus says Darius the king: 'There are eight of my family who were formerly kings; I am the ninth. From long ago[1] we were kings.'" Darius here states that eight

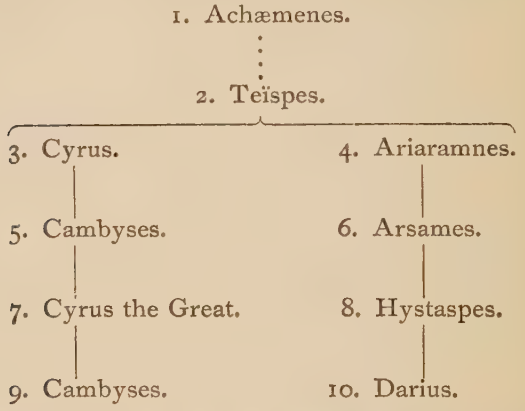
[1] The Persian word duvitātarnam was interpreted by Oppert "en deux branches." Weissbach and Bang render "In zwei Reihen." Such an interpretation seems to be at variance with the corresponding word of the Elamite text. Compare Winckler "Untersuchungen zur altoriental. Geschichte," p. 127.

of his family were kings, and he himself was the ninth, but mentions (Bh., I., 2; Bh., a) only five of his ancestors. The three omitted ancestors could not precede Achæmenes, since he was the founder of the race, but must be inserted between Achæmenes and Teïspes. Here **Herodotus helps us in supplying** after Achæmenes, Teïspes I., Cambyses, and Cyrus, and enumerates the ancestors mentioned in the Behistan inscription as Teïspes II., Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes.

We turn now to the testimony of the **Cyrus cylinder.** Here Cyrus the Great (20 fg.) gives his genealogy thus: "I am Cyrus, the king of all things, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Babylon, the king of Shumer and Akkad, the king of the four quarters of heaven; son of Cambyses, the great king, the king of Anshan; grandson of Cyrus, the great king, the king of Anshan; descendant of Teïspes, the great king, the king of Anshan, of the ancient royal blood." Moreover in this document (l. 14) Cyrus the Great is himself called king of Anshan.

Now Darius after the death of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, claimed the throne in virtue of **nearest kinship** to the royal race; hence those eight kings, which he speaks of in the Behistan inscription, were doubtless the **ancestors** of his predecessor. Cyrus was the first to establish the glory of the race of the Achæmenidæ. To him and to his ancestors, the kings of Anshan, and to his son Cambyses, Darius could refer, if he wished to extol the glory of his family. He was warranted in doing this because the ancestors of Cyrus were in part his own ancestors; for if Darius was the nearest relative of Cambyses, there must have been to

them both a **common progenitor.** This progenitor was that **Teïspes** who in the Behistan inscription appears as the father of Ariaramnes and in the Cyrus cylinder as the father of the elder Cyrus, grandfather of Cyrus the Great. The relationship between Darius and his predecessor Cambyses is shown by a comparison of the Behistan inscription and the Cyrus cylinder:



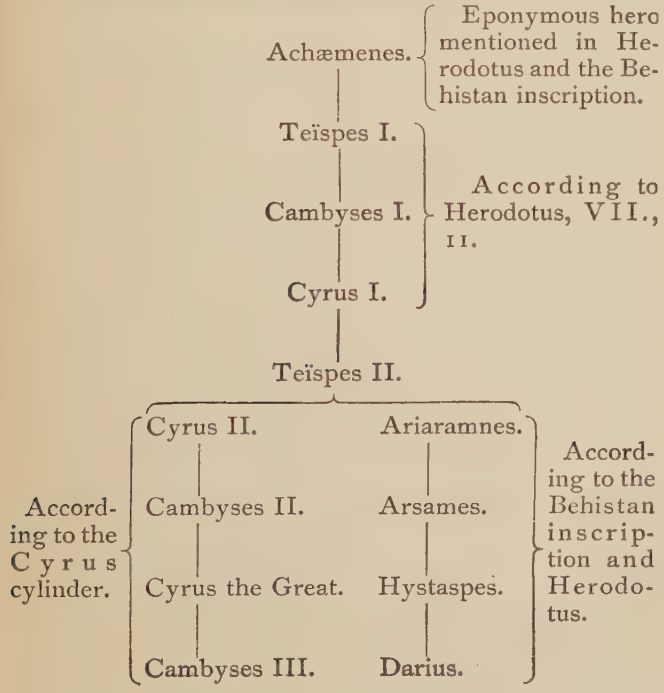
We now ask, who are the **eight** kings of the family of the Achæmenidæ who were kings **before Darius?** In the table just given nine names appear besides that of Darius. It has been assumed that there were **two lines** of kings, one of which ruled in Anshan and the other in some other country, but such assumption has no warrant. Hystaspes, the father of Darius, according to Herodotus (III., 70), was not a king, but only a governor in some part of Persia.

In the second place it appears that the name of Achæmenes, as the eponymous hero, should be stricken from the list of kings; for the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, like that of the Ejjubidæ and Sassanidæ, is

named not after the first king, but after the ancestors of the same.

Finally, we have the genealogy contained in Herodotus (VII., 11) according to which Achæmenes is not the father of the Teïspes mentioned in the Cyrus cylinder and the Behistan inscription, but his remote ancestor. As mentioned before, Herodotus inserts between Achæmenes and this Teïspes the three names, Teïspes I., Cambyses, and Cyrus.

Combining now the genealogy of Herodotus with those of the Cyrus cylinder and the Behistan inscription. we obtain the following complete table:



Cambyses III., the last representative of the **ruling family,** died childless. Darius ascended the throne on account of his relationship to Cambyses through Teïspes II. Since we have **no evidence of a double line** of kings, the immediate ancestors of Darius—*i. e.*, Hystaspes, Arsames, Ariaramnes, must not be reckoned as kings. Leaving out Achæmenes, as eponymous hero, from the list we have those eight kings of the family of Darius which he himself mentions in his own inscription. Accordingly their names must read: **Teïspes I., Cambyses I., Cyrus I., Teïspes II., Cyrus II., Cambyses II., Cyrus the Great, Cambyses III.**

The statement of Herodotus that Cyrus was of Persian descent is correct. Sayce's view, which identifies Anshan with Elam and makes Cyrus an Elamite and consequently a polytheist, is unreliable. Anshan, to be sure, was an Elamite province, but had long ago been overrun and possessed by Aryan peoples. Cyrus was of **Aryan descent, and a Persian;** but his ancestors, since the establishment of the great Median kingdom, were under Median dominion. When the Scythians invaded and destroyed the national kingdom of the Medes, Cyrus became a **"small vassal" of the Scythian king Astyages.**[1]

The account of the childhood of Cyrus is entirely legendary. Herodotus (I., 95) shows that various stories clustered about the person of the great founder of the Persian empire. Through a comparison of similar legends—*e. g.*, the account of the childhood of Sargon I., the story of Romulus and Remus, etc.—

[1] Compare the Nabû-na'id cylinder of Abû-Habba, Col. I., 29.

Bruno Bauer[1] comes to the conclusion that the germ of the Cyrus story is found with like significance among different peoples of antiquity, and that the rise of the founder of a kingdom out of obscurity is kept in remembrance by such legendary recitals. There is no historical basis for the statement of Herodotus that Cyrus was the son of a Persian man and a Median woman. If we accept the answer which the Delphic oracle gave to Crœsus (Hdt. I., 55) as a legendary *vaticinium post eventum*, we can explain in the same way the popular tradition which would make Cyrus a blood relation of the dynasty of Astyages.

The Decline of the Median Power.

After the destruction of Nineveh, as many of the Assyrian provinces as did not become independent fell to the Medes and Babylonians. The Medes took those countries that lay to the north and the east of the Tigris. The Babylonians laid claim to the lands of the Semites, especially Assyria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. Through further conquest the Median empire was so augmented that the Halys became the western boundary, while in the East all the regions possessed by the Aryan peoples as far as Persia became subject to Media. But that dynasty which had founded this mighty empire was soon destroyed. Herodotus correctly states that in the time of Cyaxares the Scythians invaded the kingdom of the Medes. "For twenty-eight years the Scythians ruled Asia, and every land was waste and

[1] Die Kyrossage und Verwandtes. Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos-histor. Klasse, 1882, 100 Bd. p. 497 fg.

desolate in consequence of their licentiousness and insolence. Besides levying tribute upon every nation, they made inroads into the countries and plundered the inhabitants, until Cyaxares and the Medes invited a number of them to a banquet, made them drunk, and slew them. . . . After this—*i. e.*, the conquest of Nineveh—Cyaxares died. He had reigned forty years, including the time of Scythian dominion, and was succeeded by his son Astyages." (Hdt. I., 106.)

We infer from the statement of Herodotus that the Medes, under Cyaxares, threw off the Scythian yoke; and that Astyages, as son of his predecessor, is a national Median king. But in the cuneiform inscriptions we find **Astyages residing in Ecbatana,**[1] **and designated king of the Scythians.**[2] We cannot assume, in order to justify the statements of Herodotus, that the Babylonian writer, after the Scythians had invaded Media, reckoned the Median king among the Scythians (Umman-manda). Later events count against such an inference, especially the behavior of the troops of Astyages in the battle against Cyrus. The annals of Nabû-na'id read: "From Astyages his army revolted, and gave him bound to Cyrus."[3] In another place we are told that Cyrus, with a small number of troops, conquered a **great Scythian host which was under the command of Astyages.** "But Merodach spoke to me (Nabû-na'id); the Scythian (Umman-manda), of whom

[1] Agamtanu âlu šarrutu. *Cf.* the annals of Nabû-na'id (Nabû-na'id-Cyrus Chronicle), Obv. II., 3.

[2] Ištumêgu šar *amêl* umman-manda. *Cf.* the Nabû-na'id cylinder of Abû-Habba, Col. I., 32.

[3] Nabû-na'id-Cyrus Chronicle, Obv., Col. II., 2.

thou speakest, his land and the kings, his helpers, are no more. In the third year they destroyed him in war, and Cyrus, the king of Ansan (=Anshan), his small vassal, scattered with his few troops the extended hosts of the Scythians. Astyages, the king of the Scythians, he seized and brought bound to his own land."[1] From this account we conclude that Cyrus did not march as a conqueror against the Medes, but to free the Medes and Persians from a foreign power. The national Median troops of Astyages went over in the battle to this king, who was hailed with joy by the Median population. Cyrus therefore had no occasion, after he had taken Astyages prisoner, to conquer the Median kingdom further, for it became his through the fortunes of war. He marched to Ecbatana, took away all the treasures that had been seized by the Scythians, and brought them to his native city, Anshan. From that time on he adds to his other titles not that of king of Media, but styles himself **king of Persia.** By doing this he emphasizes his national descent.[2]

The Fall of Babylon.

The increasing power of Cyrus roused the distrust of the Babylonian kings; Lydia and Egypt also appreciated the danger which threatened them from Persia. In consequence of this feeling, as Herodotus (I., 77) states, the Lydians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and the Lacedæmonians, entered into an alliance. Cyrus resolved to strike his adversaries individually; consequently he planned to attack Crœsus, the king of the

[1] *Cf.* the Nabû-na'id cylinder of Abû-Habba, Col. I., 26 fg.

[2] Kuraš šar *mât* Parsu; Nabû-na'id-Cyrus Chronicle, Obv., II., 15.

Lydians, before the allied forces could join themselves to the Lydian army.

Herodotus gives correctly the name of that **Babylonian king** who was to meet the opposing armies of Cyrus. In his own inscription we read his name **Nabû-na'id,** which appears in Herodotus in the form **Labynetos.** As regards the circumstances which surround the fall of Babylon the statements of our historian seem to differ materially from those of the cuneiform inscriptions. But if we examine both accounts more minutely, we shall find that the historical germ, at least, is the same. In Herodotus (I., 190) we are told that the Babylonians, when Cyrus approached their city, marched out to meet him, and were defeated. They collected their forces within the walls, having already supplied themselves with provision for many years. After a long siege, Cyrus finally took the town by means of the following device: He dug canals which conducted the water of the Euphrates into the lake basin. When the water had subsided to such an extent that the stream was fordable, the Persian troops entered the town through those openings in the wall by which the river had once made its entrance and exit. To insure the success of this device Cyrus waited until a great feast day of the Babylonians: hence the unsuspecting inhabitants were surprised by the Persian hosts in the midst of their dancing and feasting.

The account in the annals of Nabû-na'id reads somewhat differently. In the sixth year of the rule of Nabû-na'id (549) Astyages was taken prisoner. From the seventh until the ninth year of his reign Nabû-na'id was in the city Tema, while his eldest son and the army were at Akkad. In Nisan (March–April) of

the ninth year of the reign of Nabû-na'id, Cyrus collected his army, crossed the Tigris at Arbela, and invaded a small, independent kingdom, situated between the Tigris and Euphrates, the name of which is unknown owing to a mutilation in the text of the inscription. In the seventeenth year of Nabû-na'id (538) destruction came to Babylon.

Cyrus, after the conquest of Akkad, entered Babylonia. Sippara, the famous city of the God Shamash, was taken without a blow on the fourteenth of the month Tammuz (June–July) after Cyrus had defeated the Babylonian army at Opis (Upê[1]). **This is the battle mentioned by Herodotus.** Nabû-na'id fled to Babylon. On the sixteenth day of the month Tammuz Gubaru (Gobryas), the governor of Gutium, entered Babylon **without fighting.** Nabû-na'id was taken prisoner in Babylon. On the third day of the month Marcheshvan (October–November) the son of the king who led the Babylonian troops was slain, if we can trust a rather mutilated portion of the text of the inscription which seems to warrant this statement. This crown prince is called Bêl-šar-uṣur, as we learn from the inscription on the clay cylinders found in the corners of the Sin temple at Ur. In the book of Daniel this prince is called Belshazzar. In another place (Dan. v. 30) it is stated that Belshazzar was slain by the entering Persians on a night which followed a great feast in the royal palace. Herodotus (I., 191) speaks also of the same feast.

From the Biblical narrative we conclude that the Babylonians were surprised by the Persians in the midst of their drunken revel. This unforeseen entry

[1] Nabû-na'id-Cyrus Chronicles, Rev. Col. I., 12 fg.

points strongly to some device practiced by the Persians, presumably the same of which Herodotus speaks. Moreover the statement in the Nabû-na'id annals that Gobryas entered Babylon "without fighting" (bala ṣaltum) is in perfect accord with such an inference.

Herodotus represents the motive which actuated the Persian king to seize Babylon as desire for conquest. (I., 178.) According to his account, the Babylonians put forth their strongest efforts to repulse the Persian king. From the cuneiform inscriptions, however, we get the impression that the Babylonians, or at least a great part of them, hailed the advent of Cyrus with joy. This is most plainly declared in the so-called Cyrus cylinder. This inscription, it is generally supposed, was compiled at the command of Cyrus by a priest of Merodach, the tutelary god of Babylon. The first part of the document discusses the defects of the reign of Nabû-na'id. These defects consist in the neglect of the daily sacrifice, the derogation of the honor of Merodach, the introduction of foreign gods into Babylon, and the oppression of the inhabitants. The inscription goes on to say that Merodach is implored for help; the god hears the prayer and looks for another, a righteous king; such a king he finds in Cyrus, the king of Anshan. To him Merodach gives the sovereignty over Babylonia and the Eastern lands, and finally allows him to enter Babylon in triumph.

In the second part of the inscription Cyrus gives an account of his previous doings. He mentions the friendly reception which was accorded him by the population of Babylon, and expresses his anxiety to promote the well-being of his new subjects. He thanks Merodach for the blessings which he has bestowed upon him, the

king, and upon his son, Cambyses. Furthermore, he states how he brought back to their old sanctuaries the images of the gods which had been removed from the different cities of the empire by Nabû-na'id; and, finally prays all these divinities to intercede for him and his son, Cambyses, before Merodach and Nebo, the tutelary gods of Babylon and Borsippa.

This whole account is in fullest accord with that Oriental despotism which refers all its doings to the councils of the Almighty, and considers itself as the instrument of Providence. The real motive which induced Cyrus was, doubtless, the instinct of self-preservation. When he saw Babylon, Lydia, Egypt, and Lacedæmon in alliance, and knew that an attack by the Babylonians would sooner or later be made against the Elamite provinces, the Persian king had to fight for his own existence.

Owing to the discordant elements in Babylon it is not unlikely that Cyrus was hailed by a part of the population as a deliverer from Babylonian servitude. The belief that Cyrus was a special factor in the hand of God to punish proud Babylon is repeatedly met with in the prophets of the Old Testament. (Isa. xli. 2 fg.; xliv. 28; xlv. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Jer. xxv. 11.) Furthermore, the reproaches in the Cyrus cylinder directed against Nabû-na'id are clearly traceable to great dissatisfaction on the part of the Babylonians, especially on the part of the priesthood of Merodach. We are uncertain as to what was the "oppression" of the people referred to in this inscription. (l. 8.) Probably the king had laid heavy burdens upon them in order to indulge his fancy for building. That he should give over a part of his kingdom to his son

while the enemy threatened the land could not have inspired admiration for him. It is wrong to suppose that Nabû-na'id had neglected to construct temples and fortifications for his capital. Nabû-na'id speaks of himself, as well as of his predecessor, as the "restorer of Esagila and Ezida;" and the bricks which bear his name show that he expended great care upon the fortifications of Babylon.

Darius.

The statements of Herodotus concerning the history of Darius are confirmed in all essential particulars by the great **inscription of Behistan,** which was compiled in three languages—Persian, Median-Elamite, and Babylonian—that it might be understood all over the empire.[1]

The chief events which come to our notice are the murder of Smerdis by his brother, Cambyses; the reign of the false Smerdis; the accession of Darius to the throne; the rebellions in the Persian empire, especially at Babylon; and the conquest of Babylon.

After the death of Cyrus, Cambyses, the elder of his two sons, ascended the throne. Before his invasion of Egypt he had his younger brother, Smerdis,[2] murdered. No one knew of his death except two magi, who

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[1] The Persian text is published in "Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften," von Fr. Spiegel, 1882; "Old Persian Inscriptions," by Herbert Cushing Tolman, American Book Co., 1892; "Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften," von F. H. Weissbach und W. Bang, 1893–94. The Median-Elamite in "Die Achaemenideninschriften Zweiter Art," von F. H. Weissbach, 1890. The Babylonian in "Die Achaemeniden-inschriften," von Carl Bezold.

[2] Hdt., III., 30. Behistan, I., 10: "Afterwards Cambyses slew that Bardiya (Smerdis)," etc.

were brothers. One of them, Gaumāta, resembled the dead Smerdis. While Cambyses was in Egypt this Gaumāta, with the help of his brother, passed himself off for Smerdis, and had himself proclaimed king.[1] As soon as Cambyses heard of this rebellion he hastened home, but died in Syria on his return, according to Herodotus, in consequence of an accident; but according to the Behistan inscription by a self-imposed death.[2]

Gaumāta was recognized at the beginning of the eighth month.[3] Seven noble Persians,[4] among them Darius, son of Hystaspes, determined to remove the usurper from the throne. They forced their way into the palace of the king, which was in the country of Nisa

[1] Hdt., III., 61. Behistan, I., 11. "(Gaumāta) thus deceived the state: 'I am Bardiya (Smerdis), the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses,'" etc.

[2] Hdt., III., 64. Behistan, I. 11. Persian, Ka(m)bujiya uvāmarshiyush amariyatā. Babylonian, Kambuzia mitûtu ramânišu mîti.

[3] Hdt., III., 67–69.

[4] Herodotus enumerates the six associates of Darius in the slaying of Gaumāta, or the false Smerdis, as follows: Otanes, Intaphernes, Gobryas, Megabysus, Aspathines, Hydarnes. The Behistan inscription (IV., 18) reads: "Says Darius the king, 'These are the men who were there when I slew Gaumāta the Magian, who called himself Bardiya (Smerdis). Then these men coöperated as my allies: Vindafranā (Intaphernes), the son of Vayaspāra, a Persian; Utāna (Otanes), son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gaubaruva (Gobryas), son of Marduniya (Mardonius, *cf.* Hdt., VI., 43), a Persian; Vidarna (Hydarnes), son of Bagābigna, a Persian; Bagabukhsha (Megabysus), son of Dāduhya, a Persian; Ardumanish, son of Vahuka, a Persian.'" The name of Aspachanā (perhaps Aspathines) is mentioned on the Naqshi-Rustam inscription as the quiver bearer of King Darius. (N R d.)

(Persian, Nisāya; Babylonian, Ni-is-sa-a-a), at a place called in the Persian Sikayauvatish (in the Babylonian, Sihiubati), and murdered Gaumāta on the 10th of April, 521.[1]

Darius now ascends the throne, but immediately rebellions break out in all the provinces of the empire, the suppression of which is described in the Behistan inscription. On this great rock of Behistan Darius is represented with his foot on the Magian Gaumāta, while in front stand, bound together, the nine rebels whom Darius and his generals have met in battle. Small inscriptions serve to identify each rebel as follows. Under the prostrate form: "This is Gaumāta the Magian; he lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya (Smerdis; Babylonian, Barzia), the son of Cyrus; I am king." Over the first upright figure: "This is Atrina (Babylonian, Ašina); he lied; thus he said: I am king at Uvaja (Elam)." Over the second figure: "This is Nadi(n)tabira (Babylonian, Nidintubêl); he lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezar (Persian, Nabuk(u)dracara; Babylonian, Nabû-kudurri-uṣur), the son of Nabû-na'id (Persian, Nabunaita); I am king of Babylon." Upon the dress of the third figure: "This is Fravartish (Babylonian, Parumartiš); he lied; thus he said: I am Khshathrita (Babylonian, Ḫašatrîti), of the family of Cyaxares (Persian, Uvakhshtra; Babylonian, Umakuištar)." Over the fourth figure: "This is Martiya; he lied; thus he said: I am Imanish, king of Elam." Over the fifth figure: "This is Citra(n)takhma (Babylonian, Šitrantaḫmu); he lied;

[1] Hdt., III., 78. Behistan, I., 12–14. "On the 10th day of the month Bāgayādish I, with a few men, slew Gaumāta the Magian and his foremost allies," etc.

thus he said: I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares." Over the sixth figure: "This is Vahyazdāta (Babylonian, Umizdatu); he lied; thus he said: I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; I am king." Over the seventh figure: "This is Arakha (Babylonian, Araḫu); he lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezar, the son of Nabû-na'id; I am king in Babylon." Over the eighth figure: "This is Frāda (Babylonian, Parada); he lied; thus he said: I am king in Margu." Over the ninth figure: "This is Sku(n)ka the Sacian." All these revolts are minutely described in the four long columns of the inscription.

Of a special interest is the subjugation of the Babylonians, who, according to the Behistan inscription, rebelled twice: first under Nadi(n)tabira; and later under Arakha, an Armenian. Both rebels called themselves Nebuchadrezar.

Herodotus speaks of only one revolt, which ended in the conquest of Babylon by Darius. According to the Behistan inscription Darius smote the army of Nadi(n)tabira near the Tigris (Behistan I., 18). Later he utterly destroyed this army at a town Zāzāna, on the Euphrates (Behistan I., 19), and then took Babylon.

When the second insurrection had broken out under Arakha, Darius sent a general, Vi(n)dafrā by name, who conquered the town a second time, and restored peace. (Behistan III., 13, 14.)

The circumstances attending the subjugation of Babylon, as Herodotus describes them, impress one as somewhat legendary. The statement (III., 159) that Darius had to tear down the walls of Babylon seems credible when we think of the repeated attempts at rebellion on the part of the Babylonians.

CUSTOMS, RELIGION, AND LANGUAGE.

Worship of Ishtar.

Herodotus has supplemented his historical remarks with comments on manners and customs of the different peoples. In some of these he misrepresents and exaggerates the actual condition of society. This is true of the Ishtar worship. Prostitution in the service of this goddess, as Herodotus declares (I., 199), was practiced in various temples, notoriously at the Nanâ temple at Erech. But this was doubtless confined to the women who dwelt in the temple (Ḳadištu). That the offering of chastity was demanded once from all virgins is not substantiated by the cuneiform records. We can suppose that Herodotus erroneously represents as a universal custom certain lewd practices, which existed in individual temples. We must believe that in his time the effeminating influence of the Persians was sapping the moral vigor of the Babylonians, and that the offering of chastity may have been especially prevalent in the vicinity of certain temples and at certain feasts.

Babylonian Dress.

Herodotus describes the dress of the Babylonians as follows: "Their dress is a linen coat which reaches to the feet. Over this they wear a second coat of wool, and a white mantle as a wrap. . . . They let their hair grow long, and bind their heads with turbans." (I., 195.) The representations which are preserved on the Assyrian and Babylonian palaces confirm these

accounts. The undergarments, reaching to the feet, and the somewhat shorter, richly decorated over-garment are clearly seen in the reliefs of the Assyrian kings. The clothes were tightly fitting. Furthermore, the white mantle can be seen on several representations.

The statements of Herodotus naturally concern themselves with the general fashion. Soldiers and workmen wore more convenient, shorter garments, as seen in the representations. The custom of doing the hair, which we observe on the monuments, corresponds exactly to the description which Herodotus gives. The long hair was carefully fastened in braids; even soldiers wore their hair in this fashion.

The Woman Market.

The accounts of Herodotus concerning the bride market are remarkable. In each year, he says, all the maidens in the separate villages who are marriageable are collected and brought to one place. The most beautiful are sold at a great price. Out of the net proceeds was derived a dowry for the uglier ones. No purchaser could take away a maiden without surety, but he must promise and give surety that he would take her for his wedded wife. (Hdt. I., 196.) Herodotus further adds that this custom, which he considers as the wisest and the best of all the Babylonian practices, no longer existed at his time, but belonged only to the good old days.

It is hard to determine whether this description is correct in all particulars. Strabo and Nicolaus Damascenus also mention such a practice. From the contract tablets we are informed only that **women were pur-**

chased. These were intended, generally, for the harem of the chief, but many also became lawful wives.

Commerce on the Euphrates.

We know from Herodotus (I., 194) that Babylon was the central point of an extensive commerce. Armenian traders brought their wares to Babylon, on the Euphrates, and returned home by land. The manner of shipbuilding seemed strange to Herodotus. The ships were made out of woven willow twigs, covered with skins. "In every boat," says Herodotus, "is a living ass, and in the greater ones more. After the traders have arrived at Babylon and sold their cargo, they immediately offer the ribs and reeds of their boat for sale, pack the skins on the ass, and go back to Armenia." (I., 194.) The swift current of the Euphrates made such shipbuilding especially advantageous. Layard found in a palace at Nimrud representations of boats which correspond to the description of Herodotus. To-day the traffic on the Tigris is carried on by means of rafts consisting of inflated skins of sheep or goats. The Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad show that this kind of raft has been in vogue for more than two thousand years. That the commerce of Babylon and Nineveh, before the time of Herodotus, possessed great significance is shown by several places in the Old Testament. Ezekiel (xvii. 4) calls Babylonia a land of traffic. Nahum (iii. 16) says of Nineveh: "Thy traders are more numerous than the stars of heaven."

The Seals of the Babylonians.

Herodotus observes (I., 195) that each Babylonian possessed a seal. As the inscriptions show, these seals were constructed of a conical stone or piece of metal, or

were in the shape of a hollow cylinder. Such cylinders were generally worn on a string about the neck. The inscription of the seal consists frequently of three or four lines, which give the name of the owner, with the stereotyped formula, "A., the son of B., the son—*i. e.*, the protégé—of the god C."

The Religious Tolerance of Cyrus and Cambyses.

The Cyrus cylinder shows that the great founder of the Persian empire strove to win the favor of the conquered populations. He grants the requests of the Babylonian priesthood concerning the restoration of the images of the gods; he encourages the worship of the god Merodach, whose temple stood near the royal palace; he calls himself, as did the former kings, "builder (banim) of Esagila and Ezida." It is well known how Cyrus not only permitted the return of the Jews and the rebuilding of their temple, but gave back their holy vessels which Nebuchadrezar had seized. Remarkable are the words of the decree at the close of the book of Chronicles (*cf.* Ezra i. 2): "Thus spake Cyrus king of Persia, All the kingdoms of the earth has Jehovah, the God of heaven, given me, and has commanded me to build for him a temple at Jerusalem." These words do not show, as some commentators suppose, that Cyrus was a monotheist, and on that account was especially friendly to the Jews. They correspond rather to that general mode of expression in which Cyrus styles himself the executor of the Divine counsel. To the Babylonians he was the tool of Merodach; to the Jews, on the other hand, he was

the servant of Jehovah. His good will toward the Jews was manifest, however, by the fact that he restored the holy vessels which Nebuchadrezar had seized. Presumably the Jews had given strong expression to their joy over the fall of Babylon.

Cambyses was as tolerant as Cyrus toward the prominent religions of the Persian empire. The annals of Nabû-na'id (rev. III., 25) state that Cambyses, immediately after the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, entered the temple Ê-šapa-kalama-summu. On the other hand Herodotus gives us a statement in regard to Cambyses which does not seem consistent with this liberality, for he attributes the killing of the Apis bull to the wrath of Cambyses at the joy which he supposed the Egyptians felt over his defeat. But the insult to the Egyptian idols (III., 27) would show that Cambyses was not inclined to spare the religious feelings of foreign nations. The several Egyptian documents, however, make the account of Herodotus exceedingly improbable. From an Egyptian inscription, preserved in the Vatican, we learn that Cambyses, after the conquest of Egypt, performed those religious duties which devolved upon him as the successor of the Pharaohs. He was initiated into the mysteries of the goddess Neith, and brought the holy offering to Osiris in the inner room of the temple. At his command the temple of Neith, in Sais, which had been seized by the soldiers, was purified and restored to its sacred use. (Compare "Justi, Geschichte des alten Persiens," p. 49.) According to Sayce, this bull, which Cambyses is said to have slain, was found in a granite sarcophagus. In the sculpture thereon Cambyses is represented as praying before the bull, and

an inscription tells us that the bull was buried with customary rites, in which Cambyses also took part.

The Language of the Persians.

Herodotus says that Persian proper names correspond to the personal appearance and rank of each individual; and they terminate, without exception, in the same letter, which the Dorians call "san" and the Ionians "sigma." (I., 139.) This statement is untrue, since Persian nominatives of *a*-stems (I. Eur. o-s) have lost final *s*. In fact only stems in *i* and *u* retain the sibilant in the nominative—*e. g.*, Gaumāta, Bardiya, beside Dārayava(h)ush, Caishpish, etc. (Spiegel, § 24; Tolman, "Persian Inscriptions," § 16; Brugmann, I., §§ 556, 3, 558, 4.) The Greek form of these names probably influenced this supposition of Herodotus.

The following will serve as examples of the meaning of Persian names: Dāraya-va(h)ush, Darius, (dar, "hold;" va(h)u, "wealth") "possessing wealth" (*cf.* Hdt. VI., 98); Vahyaz-dāta *cf.* Avestan, Vañhaz-dāh, "giver of the best;" Khshayārshan, Xerxes, (khshaya, "ruler;" arshan, "male"); Hakhāmanish, Achaemenes (Skt., sákhā, "friend").

The Old Persian language belongs to the Aryan group of the great Indo-European family. The chief representatives of this group are the Indian—*i. e.*, the Vedic dialect and the classical Sanskrit—and the Iranian—*i. e.*, the Old Persian (West Iranian) and Avestan, sometimes called Zend (East Iranian). A common characteristic of this Aryan group is the failure to observe that distinction between *a*, *e*, *o*, which original-

ly belonged to the Indo-European. Such sounds are represented in these languages simply by *a*—thus, Indo-European, *é-bhero-nt (Gr., ἔφερον); Sanskrit, ábharan; Old Persian, abara(n). In Avestan this *a* suffered later euphonic changes.

Herodotus little knew that the Persian language was but a sister tongue of his own. How closely it resembles the Greek, and how far it varies from the mother language, the Indo-European, the following examples of comparative morphology serve to illustrate:

Persian, aspa ("horse"); Indo-European, *ékwo; Sanskrit, áçva; Greek, ἵππο-ς; Latin, equo-s.

	Persian.	Greek.	Indo-European.
Nom.	*aspa	ἵππος	*ékwos
Acc.	*aspam	ἵππον	*ékwom
Gen.	*aspahyā	ἵπποιο (Hom.)	*ékwosyo *ékwesyo
Abl.	*aspā(d)	*ἵππω(τ)? *Cf.* *Foíκω*, Rhein. Mus., LI., p. 303	*ékwōd *ékwēd
Loc.	*aspaiy	*ἵπποι; *cf.* οἴκοι *ἵππει; *cf.* οἴκει	*ékwoi *ékwei
Instr.	*aspā	*ἵππη; *cf.* πήποκα (Att. πώποτε), Cyprian ἠ "if" (Att. ἐᾶν for ἢ ἄν)	*ékwō *ékwē

Persian, bar ("bear"); Indo-European, bher; Sanskrit, bhar; Greek, φέρω; Latin, fero.

Present Active.

PERSIAN.	GREEK.	INDO-EUROPEAN.
*barā-mi	φέρω	*bhér-ō
bara-hy	φέρεις	*bhére-si
bara-tiy	φέρει	*bhére-ti
*bara-mahy	φέρομεν	*bhéro-mes
bara-(n)tiy	φέροντι (Dor.)	*bhéro-nti

Imperfect Active.

PERSIAN.	GREEK.	INDO-EUROPEAN.
*abaram	ἔφερον	*é-bhero-m
*abaras	ἔφερες	*é-bhere-s
abara(t)	ἔφερε(τ)	*é-bhere-t

THE CUSTOMS OF THE PERSIANS.

Herodotus states that it is not the practice of the Persians to erect statues, temples, or altars to their gods. (I., 131.) But Darius tells us in the Behistan Inscription (I., 14) that he restored the sanctuaries which Gaumāta destroyed. This passage, the interpretation of which is somewhat doubtful, ought probably to read: "I restored the places of prayer which Gaumāta the Magian destroyed; I preserved the aqueducts (?) for the people, the possessions, the dwelling places, and whatever else Gaumāta the Magian had taken from them with the help of his clansmen (vithibish[1])."

On the tomb of Darius at Naqshi-Rustam, opposite the standing form of the king, is carved an altar, upon

[1] *Cf.* Foy, "Kuhn's Zeitschrift," XXXIII., p. 425: "Spiegel, Bang und Tolman sollten übrigens auch bei ihren übersetzungen besser vithaibish als vithibish." The latter (vithin) is literally "belonging to a clan."

which the sacred fire is burning, while above is a disk, probably the representation of the sun, of which the fire blazing at the shrine is the symbol. Over all is the image of the supreme god Auramazda.

Again Herodotus erroneously confused Mitra with Aphrodite. Mitra, or Mithra, was the personification of the sun, while Anaitis corresponds to the Greek Aphrodite. Both names occur in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa: "Let Auramazda, Anahita, and Mithra protect me." ([A(h)uramazdā] Anah[i]ta ut[ā Mi]thra [mām pātuv].) The following selection from the Mihir Yasht of the Avesta will serve as a specimen of the praise of Mithra, the all-beholding sun: "Mithra, of far courses,[1] we worship with sacrifice, a god, truth-speaking, eloquent, of a thousand ears, well-shapened, of ten thousand eyes, tall, with broad windows—*i. e.*, as in a fortress, where one may have a broad view—strong, sleepless, ever watchful, giving instruction as a reward, lord of hosts, possessor of a thousand spies, ruler, master, all-knowing."

It is to Auramazda that Darius owes his throne and his victories. He repeatedly states in his inscriptions: "By the grace of Auramazda I am king" (*e. g.*, Bh., I., 5); "Auramazda gave me the kingdom" (*e. g.*, Bh., I., 5 and 9); "By the grace of Auramazda (these countries) became subject to me" (*e. g.*, Bh., I., 7); "Auramazda bore me aid, by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly" (*e. g.*, Bh., I., 8).

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[1] Lit., "cow-ways;" Wrongly Darmesteter, "Lord of wide pastures;" and Jackson, "having wide pastures" (Avesta Grammar, §867).

The Magi were guardians of the priestly mysteries, and without them, Herodotus says, it was not lawful to sacrifice. (I., 132.) The Magi may have been a Median tribe of great political importance, for it was the Magian Gaumāta who, under the name of Smerdis, laid claim to the throne. As the priestly class, they held a supremacy which was unique and abiding. Their dress was white; on their head was worn a turban, which, by cheek pieces (Avestan, Paitidāna), protected the mouth. The sacrificial rites, described by Herodotus, agree pretty closely with the rules prescribed in the Avesta. Herodotus declares it is secretly mentioned that the dead body of a Persian is never buried until it has been torn by dog or bird; the Magi, however, practise this custom openly. (I., 140.) This is fully in accord with the requirements of the Avesta, which implicitly prescribe that the naked dead be exposed to birds of prey on a high structure (dakhma) outside the city. So the modern Parsis place the body on the "Tower of Silence" to be consumed by vultures.

The killing of obnoxious animals is commended. Herodotus relates that the Magi kill ants, snakes, and other creeping, as well as flying, things; but they spare the dog. (I., 140.) Vendidad XIII., of the Avesta, refers to the dog and to its treatment—*e. g.*, the punishment for killing a dog, the duties of the dog, the proper food for the dog, the care of a diseased dog, the vices and virtues of the dog, the praise of the dog. But Vendidad XIV. sanctions the killing of snakes, ants, and worms.[1]

The education of the Persian youth, according to He-

[1] Also Vendidad XVI. prescribes the killing of ants.

rodotus, consists of three things—*i. e.*, to ride the horse, to shoot the bow, and to speak the truth. (I., 136.) Herodotus further relates that to tell a lie is considered among them the greatest disgrace. (I., 138.) The Behistan inscription amply proves the apparent contempt of the Persian for deceit. "It was a lie," says Darius, "that made the provinces rebellious." (Bh., I., 10; IV., 4.) "Gaumāta the Magian deceived the state." (Bh., I., 11.) So over the prostrate forms of the rebels is written: "This is A: he lied; this he said." (See p. 88.)

KINGS OF ASSYRIA (FROM THE SECOND ASSYRIAN EMPIRE).

Tiglath-Pileser III. . . . . 745–727.
Shalmaneser IV. . . . . 727–722.
Sargon. . . . . 722–705.
Sennacherib. . . . . 705–681.
Esar-haddon. . . . . 681–668.
Ashurbanipal (Sardanapalos). . 668–626.
Ašur-etil-ilani-ukin, reigned at least four years.
Sin-šar-iškun (Sarakos), reigned at least seven years.
Nineveh fell 606 or 607.

KINGS OF THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.

Nabopolassar. . . . . 626–605.
Nebuchadrezar. . . . . 605–562.
Evil-Merodach. . . . . 562–560.
Neriglissar. . . . . 560–556.
Labasi-Marduk (Laborosoarchod), reigned three months.
Nabonidus. . . . . 556–538.
Cyrus conquers Babylon 538.

KINGS OF LYDIA (ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS).

Dynasty of the Heraclidæ.

Agron, son of Ninus, grandson of Belus, great-grandson of Alcæus, was the first of the Heraclidæ to become king of Sardis.

Myrsus, the twenty-first successor of Agron.

Candaules (Myrsilus), last of the dynasty which extended five hundred and five years.

Dynasty of the Mermnadæ.

Gyges, who reigned thirty-eight years.

Ardys, who reigned forty-nine years.

Sadyattes, who reigned twelve years.

Alyattes, who reigned fifty-seven years.

Crœsus, who reigned fourteen years; conquered by Cyrus.

KINGS OF MEDIA (ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS).

Deïoces (Assyrian, Daiukku). . .	699–646.
Phraortes (Persian, Fravartish). .	646–624.
Cyaxares (Persian, Uvakhshtra). . .	624–584.
Astyages (Assyrian, Istuvegu). .	584–550.

Media is brought under the power of Cyrus, the son of a vassal of Astyages, in what was then the little province of Persia.

KINGS OF PERSIA.

Cyrus (Kurush). . . . . 559–529.
Cambyses (Ka[m]bujiya). . . 529–522.
Gomates (Gaumāta), the Magian, the pseudo-Smerdis (Bardiya), reigned seven months.
Darius (Dārayava[h]ush). . . 521–485.
Xerxes (Khshayārshā). . . . . 485–465.
Artaxerxes I. (Artakhshatra) Longimanus. 465–425.
Xerxes II., murdered after a reign of forty-five days by his half brother, who was himself slain by another bastard son of Artaxerxes, who took the throne under the title of Darius II.
Darius II. (Nothus). . . . . 424–405.
Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon). . . 405–358.
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus). . . . 358–338.
Arses. . . . . 338–336.
Darius III. (Codomannus). . . . 336–330.
Conquered by Alexander.

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